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Ruins of the old chimney at Saint-Maurice Forges, Que. (Photo., Can. Nat. Parks).

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THE

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(1st)

Annual Report

1922

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1923

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Formerly *The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada*)

President

Lawrence J. Burpee, Hope Chambers, Ottawa

Vice-President

W. D. Lighthall, 11 Place d'Armes, Montreal

Secretary-Treasurer

C. Marius Barbeau, Victoria Museum, Ottawa

Editor

J. F. Kenney, Dominion Archives, Ottawa

Councillors

Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archives, Ottawa
Pierre-Georges Roy, Provincial Archives, Quebec
George M. Wrong, University of Toronto, Toronto
Chester Martin, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg
Archibald MacMechan, Dalhousie University, Halifax
F. W. Howay, Law Courts, New Westminster

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J. B. Harkin, Dominion Parks Branch, Ottawa
Mrs. J. B. Simpson, 173 Percy St., Ottawa
Hon. W. R. Riddell, Osgoode Hall, Toronto

Auditor

Lt.-Col. J. F. Cunningham, 400 Laurier Ave. E., Ottawa

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

In opening the sixteenth annual meeting of the Historic Landmarks Association, I shall not attempt to review the events of the year that fall within the range of our special interests. These will be dealt with by the Secretary. I shall confine myself to bringing before you a suggestion to which I hope you will give careful consideration.

At the last annual meeting the Council was charged with the task of drafting a Constitution. The draft is now before you. In it have been incorporated certain clauses which, if they meet with your approval, may add very greatly to the Association's opportunities for useful work.

In effect it is proposed so to broaden the scope of the Association's activities that it will become in a real sense a national historical society; and to that end, that the name be changed to The Canadian Historical Association. In the draft Constitution, certain clauses have been inserted, in addition to this change of name, defining the wider field which it is hoped the Association may in future endeavour to cover.

It is not for a moment contemplated that in doing this we should abandon the specific objects for which the Historic Landmarks Association was created, but rather that to those objects should be added others coming within the general scheme of a national historical society.

The Historic Landmarks Association has to its credit a number of years of faithful and useful work. It has laboured quietly but persistently for the promotion of a public sentiment that would not permit the historic landmarks of Canada to remain neglected and forgotten. It may also fairly claim at least some of the credit for the establishment of the Quebec Battlefields Commission, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and the new Quebec Historic Monuments Commission. In other words, the public sentiment aroused by this Association for the preservation and marking of historic sites made the creation of these organizations possible, for one

need not labour the point that governments seldom act in matters of this kind except in response to public pressure, or because they feel that there is a definite public demand for them.

If the sentiment of the Association is in harmony with that of the Council, as expressed in the draft Constitution, I believe that we may look forward to many years of increasingly valuable activities, in which our old work will by no means be overlooked, but will be associated with other efforts towards the encouragement of historical research and of an intelligent public interest in the history of our country, as well as the co-ordination of the efforts of provincial and local historical societies throughout the country. Not the least important object of the Association would be to associate itself with other patriotic agencies in bringing into more perfect harmony the two great races that constitutes the Canadian people.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

C. Marius Barbeau

Various historic events and commemorations of interest to the members of the Association have occurred in the course of the past year.

The Celebration at Annapolis Royal

Dr. Charles Morse was last year appointed a delegate to represent our society at the Annapolis Royal celebration of the tercentenary of the birth of Nova Scotia, the bicentenary of the establishment of the first court administering English Common Law within the boundaries of what is now the Dominion of Canada, and the centenary of the arrival in Annapolis Royal of Thomas Chandler Haliburton. The account of Dr. Morse acompanies this report.

The Association decided at the same meeting to present to the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal a flag of the period of George I, to be used in unveiling the tablet commemorating the first court of Common Law. The flag was sent accordingly to the president of the Association, Mr. Fortier, whose acknowledgement, dated July 1, includes the statement: "Everyone here appreciates and admires this interesting gift, and it is our intention to preserve it permanently under glass in the Museum of Fort Anne after it has served the special purpose for which it has been sent to us."

The Penetanguishene Tercentenary

A statue to Père Joseph LeCaron, the first missionary in Huronia, was unveiled at Penetanguishene, on the second of August, 1921. Among other memorials dedicated in the same ceremonies were inscriptions to Francis Parkham, the historian of the Jesuit Missions, and to Sir John Franklin in commemoration of the voyage of northwestern discovery which he commenced at Penetanguishene.

The David Thompson Memorial

As mentioned in last year's report, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson's Bay Company for some time have contemplated the erection of a suitable monument to the memory of the great western explorer, David Thompson, near Invermere.

in the Columbia Valley. A date has been set for the ceremony at the end of August.

The President, in this connection, has discussed with Col. Dennis, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the advisability of putting aside a modest sum for a suitably inscribed stone to be erected over the grave of David Thompson, in Mount Royal cemetery. We quote Col. Dennis' reply of June last: "I am taking up with the proper persons the matter of devoting the sum of $100 for the purpose of marking Thompson's grave, and I expect we will be able to do so when the time comes." There is a fair prospect of the reproach being at last removed that Canada has allowed one of her most famous explorers to lie in an unmarked and practically unknown grave.

The Simon Fraser Monument

The Hudson's Bay Company last year invited the President of our Association to unveil the memorial which the company had decided to place over the grave of Simon Fraser, in the old Roman Catholic graveyard at St. Andrews, near Cornwall, Ontario. It was subsequently decided, however, to abandon the formal ceremony, and the monument was erected in September last. The Hudson's Bay Company issued a small pamphlet to mark the occasion. The following is the inscription on the memorial:—

> "In memory of Simon Fraser, explorer, born 1776, died 1862. While in the employ of the North West Company he conducted important exploration and pioneer work principally in the area now known as British Columbia, which he helped to secure for the British. He led the first exploring expedition to descend the great river which bears his name, reaching the Gulf of Georgia on July 2, 1808. This monument was erected in 1921 by the Hudson's Bay Company over the grave where he and his wife were buried."

The Foundation of McGill University

The anniversary of the foundation of McGill University was fittingly celebrated last autumn. The nature of the celebration was not such as to call for the active participation of our Association, but, although not formally delegated to represent us, several of our members attended the ceremonies.

The Jacques Cartier Landfall

A movement has been initiated in favour of suitably marking the landfall of Jacques Cartier by a monument on the Gaspé Coast. The President has been in correspondence with Dr. John Clarke, of the New York State Museum at Albany, who has for some time past interested himself in the project. He has also consulted with various Canadian historical societies and The Historic Sites and Mounments Board of Canada. As the work should undoubtedly be undertaken under the auspices of the Dominion Government through the Monuments Board, the Association was gratified to learn that the consideration of the Board would be formally given to the matter at its next meeting.

Relics of the Original Brock Monument

The President brought to the attention of the Queen Victoria-Niagara Falls Park Commissioners the fact that a fragment of the stone carrying the inscription of the original Brock Monument was lying in a corner of the room at the base of the present monument, and suggested that, as this was apparently all that remained of the old monument, it would be worth while to preserve it more carefully, and put it in a prominent position where it could be seen by visitors. The Superintendent of the Park wrote in reply: "We are making arrangements to place the two pieces of the original tablet upon a table with a small bronze plate showing where they came from. I am greatly obliged for your calling my attention to the fact that they are out of the sight of visitors."

The Old Military Burying Ground in Montreal

The fact that the City Council of Montreal had adopted a resolution in favour of extending one of the city streets through the old military burying ground in that city was recently brought to the President's notice. This burying ground is under federal jurisdiction, and it is understood that the civic authorities purpose asking permission from the Department of Militia and Defence for the proposed roadway. As this old graveyard is in a real sense historic ground, containing the graves of Canadian soldiers who fell in 1812 and 1837, as well as the monument to General D'Urban unveiled by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught some years ago, it is felt that nothing but the most urgent necessity would justify such a piece of vandalism. The President has made representations to the Historic Sites and Monuments

Board, and has taken the matter up with General Fiset, the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, who has replied: "This Department has not been approached as yet by the City of Montreal for permission to run a street through the old burying ground, and if such a request is ever received by the Militia Department I shall place your letter before my Minister before consideration is given to the city of Montreal."

Military Sites and Buildings

The Department of Militia and Defence has recently transferred to the Department of the Interior, for preservation by The Historic Sites and Monuments Board, certain sites and buildings no longer required for military purposes, but which remain of national interest because of their historical associations. A number of other sites and buildings of the same kind also possess historical associations rather of a local than a national character. The President has offered to the Department of Militia and Defence the good offices of this Association in arranging for the transfer of these properties to responsible local societies or other authorities which will undertake to keep them in preservation.

The Quebec Historic Monuments Commission

It will be interesting to learn that the Quebec Government has created a Commission with jurisdiction over matters affecting the preservation of monuments and other articles of historic and artistic interest within the province. There is every reason to believe, from the announcement of the personnel of the new Commission, that this important development is in good hands, and will be carried on in the best interests of the province and the Dominion.

The Speaker's Chair

Record may be made here of the presentation to the Canadian House of Commons by the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons of Great Britain of an exact replica of the Speaker's Chair in the House of Commons at Westminster. The Royal Arms which surmount the canopy are carved in old oak taken from the roof of Westminster Hall.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the Year Ending on April 30, 1922

Receipts—

Annual membership	$370.00
Bank interest	5.32
Balance on hand April 30, 1921	240.36
	$615.68

Expenditures—

Printing and stationery	$ 28.03
Postage and sundries	29.56
Secretary's remuneration and expenses	200.00
Balance on hand April 30, 1922	358.09
	$615.68

O. H. SHARPE,
Treasurer.

Audited and found correct:
J. F. Cunningham,
Auditor.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATE TO THE ANNAPOLIS ROYAL CELEBRATION

The undersigned had the honour of attending, as a delegate of this Association, the celebration at Annapolis Royal, on August 31, 1921, of: (1) the Tercentenary of the birth of Nova Scotia; (2) the Bicententary of the establishment of the first court administering English Common Law within what is now the Dominion of Canada; and (3) the Centenary of the arrival in Annapolis Royal of Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

The proceedings were opened at 2.45 p.m. in Fort Anne, now constituting one of our National Parks. A temporary platform had been erected for the speakers on what was the parade ground of the Fort in former times; and chairs were provided for invited guests facing the platform.

The afternoon proceedings consisted of addresses and the unveiling of three memorial tablets, which were placed conspicuously on the platform. The first bears the following inscription:—

1621-1921

"This tablet, placed here by the Government of the Province of Nova Scotia, A.D. 1921, commemorates the three hundredth anniversary of the issue of the charter of New Scotland, by King James I of England and VI of Scotland, A.D. 1621.

"The birth of an idea which lived, and had its final fruition in the taking of this Fort and conquest of Acadia in the reign of Queen Anne."

The second one bears the inscription:—

"This tablet, placed here by the Bench and Bar of Canada, A.D. 1921, marks the two hundredth anniversary of the establishment and sitting (in this Fort), A.D. 1721, of the first Court administering English Common Law within what is now the Dominion of Canada."

And the third, the following:—

"This tablet, erected A.D. 1921, under the auspices of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, commemorates the one hundredth anniversary of the arrival in this town of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, who lived here eight years and began in this place his great career in Law, Literature and Public Life."

"Bastion de Bourgogne" (first powder magazine, 1702), at Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal, N.S. (Photo., Can. Nat. Parks).

Officers' Quarters, Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal, N.S. (Photo., Can. Nat. Parks).

Facing p. 14.

Among those having seats on the platform were the Honourable Mr. Justice Chisholm, Chairman; the Hon. MacCallum Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia; the Hon. Sir James Aikins, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and President of the Canadian Bar Association; the Hon. R. E. Harris, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia; the Hon. George H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia; the Hon. W. F. McCurdy, Minister of Public Works for Canada; His Worship Mayor Hardwick, of Annapolis Royal; L. M. Fortier, Esq., President of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, and F. C. Whitman, Esq., Vice-President of the same association.

The proceedings began with an address by the Chairman, after which the Hon. George H. Murray presented the first tablet and commended the practice of celebrating in a formal way the great events in our colonial history. The second tablet was presented on behalf of the Bench and Bar of Canada by the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, his address being followed by speeches from the Hon. Sir James Aikins, the Hon. W. F. McCurdy and others representing the Bar of Canada. The third tablet was presented by Mr. F. C. Whitman on behalf of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal. The ceremony of unveiling these memorials was performed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

After the formal proceedings had taken place the invited guests repaired to the "Hillsdale House", where afternoon tea was served by the Fort Anne Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire. An open meeting of the Historical Societies of Nova Scotia and Annapolis Royal took place in the evening at 8 o'clock in the Bijou Theatre. The Hon. Mr. Justice Chisholm was in the chair and papers were read by Colonel Alexander Fraser, LL.D., on "The Royal Charter of Sir William Alexander"; by Chas. Morse, K.C., D.C.L., on "The Courts and the Commonwealth"; and J. Murray Clark, K.C., LL.D., on "The Relations of the British Dominion of Virginia with the Dominion of Canada". Another paper, prepared by J. Irvin, Esq., K.C., on "A Philosophic Examination of the Spirit of Nova Scotia's First Criminal Laws", was summarized by the author, on account of the lateness of the hour. At the conclusion of the meeting a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the authors of the papers was moved by the Hon. Mr. Justice Longley of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia and seconded by Mr. L. M. Fortier. The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal is to publish these papers in book form under the title of a *Book of Remembrance.*

The following societies were represented at the celebration: The Royal Society of Canada, The Canadian Bar Association, The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, The New Brunswick Historical Society, The Nova Scotia Historical Society, The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, The Haliburton Club, Windsor, Nova Scotia, The Barristers' Society of Nova Scotia, and The Law Society of Upper Canada.

In the course of his remarks after the unveiling of the tablets in the afternoon proceedings Mr. Fortier made the following observations:

> "One interesting thing I must not omit to mention. The flags used for the unveiling ceremony, and which are now seen flying over their respective tablets, were presented for the occasion; the first, the banner of Nova Scotia, by the Saint Andrew Society of Glasgow; the second (a reproduction of the union flag of George I), by the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada; and the third, a present-day Union Jack, by Mrs. Laura Haliburton-Moore of Wolfville, a collateral descendant of Judge Haliburton. These flags are to be placed under glass in the museum of Fort Anne, with a statement of the facts concerning them, for permanent preservation."

CHARLES MORSE

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Association was held in conjunction with that of the Royal Society, in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, at 4 p.m., on Thursday, May 18, 1921.

The members present at the meeting were: Rev. George Bryce, Dr. J. H. Coyne, President Walter C. Murray, Mr. Charles Hill-Tout, Rev. E. H. Oliver, Judge F. W. Howay, M. Aegidius Fauteaux, M. Francis J. Audet, Mr. Pemberton Smith, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Mr. T. Currelly, Brigadier-General Cruikshank, Prof. George M. Wrong, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, Mr. W. D. Lighthall, Mr. J. F. Kenney, Mr. D. C. Harvey, Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, Mrs. J. B. Simpson, Major A. A. Pinard, Mr. Hanbury Williams, Mr. L.-C. Vallée, Mr. C. M. Barbeau and others.

After the Presidential address the reports of the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Delegate to the Annapolis Royal celebration were presented, and the following resolutions adopted:

Resolutions

Moved by General Cruikshank and seconded by Mr. J. B. Harkin—That the Association put on record its deep regret at the loss of several of its members in the course of the past year, three of whom—Mr. J. L. Englehart, Sir Frederick Orr-Lewis and Mr. Thomas Ritchie—were life members, and the following annual members: Mr. Robert Hampton, Mr. J. C. A. Heriot, Sir John Kennedy, Mr. Theodor Labatt, Hon. Justice Longley, Mr. J. B. Morissette, and Mr. W. G. Parmalee.

Moved by Lawrence J. Burpee and seconded by C. M. Barbeau—That the Canadian Historical Association wishes to record its protest against the intended removal of one of the old landmarks of the city of Toronto: the name of Teraulay st., which for real estate purposes would be changed by the City Council into that of Bay st.; that a copy of the protest be respectfully submitted to His Honour the Mayor of Toronto and the City Council, with the hope that it may not be too late to prevent what historians and all those interested in Canadian historical birthrights would consider a spoliation and a deplorable concession to venal tendencies.

Moved by Mr. D. C. Harvey and seconded by Mr. J. F. Kenney—That the Association wishes to express its gratitude to the leading officers of the Dominion Parks Branch of the Federal Government for their effective assistance in the pub-

lication of the Annual Report of the Historic Landmarks Association for the year 1921.

Moved by Mr. Pemberton Smith and seconded by Mr. Charles Hill-Tout—That this meeting endorse the proposal of the officers of the Society to change the name of this Association to that of *The Canadian Historical Association.*

A tentative draft of a Constitution was then read by the Secretary and discussed by the members, in particular by Mr. Lighthall, Mr. Fauteux, Rev. Dr. Oliver, President Murray, Dr. Coyne, General Cruikshank, Judge Howay, Mr. Pemberton Smith, Professor Wrong, the President and the Secretary. The meeting unanimously concluded that the constitution as amended at the meeting should be adopted provisionally, that is until it is finally confirmed at the forthcoming annual meeting.

Moved by Judge F. W. Howay and seconded by Rev. E. H. Oliver—That The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada be merged in The Canadian Historical Association hereby constituted and that the draft constitution submitted by the Council be adopted provisionally as the Constitution of the Canadian Historical Association.

Moved by Mr. W. D. Lighthall and seconded by President Walter C. Murray—That Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee be elected as President of the Canadian Historical Association.

Moved by Dr. J. H. Coyne and seconded by Rev. George Bryce—That Mr. W. D. Lighthall be elected to the office of Vice-President.

Moved by W. D. Lighthall and seconded by Mr. C. T. Currelly—That M. C. M. Barbeau be elected to the office of Secretary-Treasurer.

Moved by General Cruikshank and seconded by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee—That Mr. J. F. Kenney be elected to the office of Editor.

Moved by Mr. Pemberton Smith and seconded by Mr. C. M. Barbeau—That Prof. G. M. Wrong, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, Hon. Judge F. W. Howay, Dr. A. G. Doughty, and Professors Archibald MacMeehan and Chester Martin be elected as members of the Council.

Moved by Mr. W. D. Lighthall and sceonded by Mr. J. F. Kenney—That Mr. Pemberton Smith, M. A. Fauteux, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Mrs. Simpson and Hon. W. R. Riddell constitute the Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks, with power to add to their numbers, the first-named to be chairman.

Moved by Mr. C. M. Barbeau and seconded by Mr. D. C. Harvey—That Col. J. F. Cunningham be elected to the office of Auditor.

Moved by Mr. J. B. Harkin and seconded by Mrs. J. B. Simpson—That the Association desires to express its appreciation of the services of Mr. O. H. Sharpe as Treasurer during the year just ended, and of Lt.-Col. J. G. Cunningham, as Auditor for the same year.

Moved by Mr. Pemberton Smith and seconded by Rev. George Bryce—That the thanks of the Association be extended to the officers for the efficient discharge of their duties in the past year.

The President, before adjourning the meeting, communicated the following telegraphic message from Mr. John S. Bassett, of Washington, the Secretary of The American Historical Association: "The American Historical Association sends most cordial greetings to the new Canadian Historical Association and confidently wishes it many years of the utmost prosperity and success."

C. MARIUS BARBEAU,
Secretary.

CONSTITUTION

I. Name

This society shall henceforth be known as The Canadian Historical Association.

II. Objects

The objects of the Association shall be:

To encourage historical research and public interest in history;

To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past;

To publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

III. Membership

The Association shall consist of the members of The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada together with such others, approved by the Council, as may be comprised in the following classes:

Members, whose annual dues shall be $2;

Life Members, whose fees shall be $50 in one payment;

Honorary or Corresponding Members, restricted to persons not resident in Canada, who shall be exempt from payment of fees;

Such *organizations* as may desire to become members, and whose annual dues shall be $5.

All fees shall become due and shall be paid upon receipt of a notification from the Secretary-Treasurer or someone appointed by him.

IV. Officers

The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer and an Editor.

The Council shall consist of the officers, together with six other members.

The Council shall be elected at the Annual Meeting, nominations to be made from the floor, individually for each officer and collectively for the other members, and voted upon by ballot.

The duties of the officers shall be those generally attached to their respective offices, together with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

An annual allowance may be made for the work of the executive officers, the amount to be fixed by the Council.

V. Standing Committees

There shall be a Standing Committee to be known as The Landmarks Committee, and such other standing committees as may from time to time be created by the Association at its annual meeting.

VI. Meetings

The Annual Meeting shall be held at a time and place to be fixed by the Council.

The Officers and Standing Committees shall report at the annual meeting on the activities of the Association, and their statements may be published in an annual report.

The Council may include in the programme of the annual meeting such papers or addresses as in its opinion would further the aims of the Association and be of interest to the members; and it shall decide which if any of these papers or addresses are to be published in the Annual Report.

Special Meetings may be called by the Council whenever necessary.

VII. Amendments

The Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, by two-thirds of the members present, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous Annual Meeting or received and approved by the Council at least one month before the annual meeting.

HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES ON CANADIAN LANDMARKS

1. THE PASSING OF THE SECOND CHAMBER IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

BY

D. C. HARVEY

Of all the provinces of the Dominion of Canada none has had a more interesting constitutional history than Prince Edward Island. In this little Island most of the problems which beset the other provinces together with some that were peculiar to itself were fought out with great persistence and with considerable spirit. As constitutional development was conditioned by no Imperial statute but flowed from the Royal Prerogative through Orders in Council, local enactments assented to by the Crown and royal instructions to the lieutenant-governors, it has been more flexible than it otherwise could have been.

This flexibility has found expression nowhere more clearly than in the history of the Second Chamber, which exercised both legislative and executive functions from 1770 to 1839, was the typical colonial second chamber nominated by the Crown from 1839 to 1862, and was elected by a restricted property franchise from 1862 to 1893. In the latter year it ceased to be a Second Chamber, being absorbed in the Assembly to which it still contributes one-half of the members who are supposed to represent the interests of property as distinct from the other half who are elected on a wider franchise.

From its final cession to the British in 1763 until it became a separate colony in 1769, Prince Edward Island (still known as St. John's Island until 1798) was governed from Nova Scotia; but from the arrival of Governor Patterson in 1770 until the present day it has enjoyed its own system of government. This Government at first consisted merely of a Governor appointed by the Crown and a Council of nine also in theory appointed by the Crown but in practice nominated by the Governor.

From 1773 onwards, the colony boasted of representative government, but owing to the sparse and inexperienced nature of the population the early Assemblies were content merely to give assent to the wishes of the Governor and his Council. Such with slight qualifications is the history of the representative chamber for the first fifty years of its existence, though it was gradually learning to do by doing, and in the fullness of time

was destined to take a high view of its rights and responsibilities. So too, the Council was wont to follow rather faithfully the lead of the Governor, though owing to the frequent absences of governors and to their occasional feuds it had learned to take sides and to discern its own interest. This development was facilitated by the fact that the early councillors resided in or near the capital and were thus enabled by continual intercourse to develop a sort of esprit de corps. Many of them in time became connected by social and commercial ties and by intermarriage, so that, as the Assembly later showed, here, if anywhere in British North America, existed a real Family Compact.

The first serious friction between the Council and the Assembly was a reaction from the arbitrary government of Charles Douglas Smith, which, synchronising with an era of reform in England and in the colonies, gave the Assembly a fixed idea that they must maintain every right and make good every claim. Prior to 1810 the Assembly had occasionally submitted the items of their expenditure separately for the consideration of the Council. In 1803 the Council had originated a Committee "to take into consideration the state of the public accounts and the demands upon the Treasury." In 1809 the Council had amended an item sent up by the Assembly and the latter had accepted the amendment as well as a request of the Council to be joined by a Committee of the Assembly in considering the state of the public accounts.

But in 1813 Charles Douglas Smith, the outstanding benevolent despot of our Island history, became Lieutenant-Governor and during his long regime he was at constant feud with the Legislature: when the Houses were called together they were almost immediately prorogued or dismissed and but one revenue bill passed the Legislature which was rejected by the Lieutenant-Governor. During these twelve years the expenses of government were met by the receipts of two permanent revenue acts which the Assembly in the period of its faith had placed at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council (25 Geo. III, cap. 4 and 35; Geo. III, cap. 10). During the later years of his administration Smith was able to command undivided support only from his family connexions in the Council. But when the Assembly had become thoroughly aroused against the autocratic governor, it soon learned to scrutinize the claims of the equally autocratic Council.

Accordingly with the administration of Colonel John Ready (1825-31) a quarrel broke out between the Council and the Assembly over the mode of appropriating supplies and the

relative powers of the two branches of the Legislature. The Council insisted that it was the duty of the Assembly to submit each item of expenditure in detail in order that it might exercise its discretion in regard to individual items, without endangering the entire Bill of Supply, whereas the Assembly claimed full supremacy over the Council in all money matters, and declared that the Council had no right whatever to alter such bills. The controversy produced much argument and many appeals to precedent on both sides, but the Assembly steadily refused to be influenced by appeals to practice in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick and took its stand upon the "ancient and undisputed usage of the Legislature of the Island and the practice of the House of Commons." The controversy also led to considerable correspondence with the Colonial Office and was only temporarily hushed when Earl Bathurst regretted the action of the Council in raising "a claim of at least doubtful right, which has been more prudently suffered hitherto to lie dormant and which, in its nature, it is not easy to reconcile to the principles of the British Constitution."

From 1831 to 1834 the Assembly and Council kept up a reasonably good correspondence, but in the latter year they were again at loggerheads, the Council having rejected a bill for the extension of the franchise through fear of a growing democracy. The Assembly replied by an attack upon the nature and composition of the Council and prepared an address to the Crown, in which they stated "That the constitution of Your Majesty's Council in this Island, composed as it is of *nine* gentlemen (six of whom hold situations of emolument at the pleasure of the Crown) who act both in a Legislative and Executive capacity and one of whom, at least, is also the legal adviser of Your Majesty's Representative, is considered incompatible with the freedom and independence of the Second Branch of the Legislature and that such extensive powers conferred on so few individuals, however trustworthy or respectable in society, are contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution." They therefore prayed that the King would grant unto them "a Legislative Council, distinct from that of the Executive, to be composed of gentlemen possessing a knowledge of the wants and resources of the Colony, and who hold no situation or office of emolument at the pleasure of the Crown, thereby placing them on an equal footing with the sister province of New Brunswick." In regard to New Brunswick they were in error.

It is interesting to note that an amendment to this address, lost by a close vote of 6 to 8 (in a House of 18 members), fore-

shadowed a later insistent demand for an elective Legislative Council.

In the meantime an election had been held and the new Assembly declared the Colonial Secretary's reply—that he had not seen fit to advise His Majesty to accede to the prayer of the petition—to be satisfactory. In the Assembly there was still a minoriy of *four* who favored an *elective* Legislative Council and insisted that the reply was "disheartening to the loyal inhabitants of this Colony."

In 1835 the Council rejected the Revenue Bill because the appropriations were included in it, but for a time the Council and the Assembly found common ground in dealing with the Clergy Reserves. In 1838, on hearing that the Councils had been divided in Nova Scotia the Assembly returned to the subject, and this time they found a sympathetic ear in the Colonial Office, with the result that the desired change was effected in 1839. But the unsettled nature of public opinion may be gathered from the fact that the election of 1838 had so altered the temper of the New Assembly that it requested the Lieutenant-Governor to defer the change until it could present its views. From the discussions at the time it would seem that a majority of the new Assembly were in favor of an *elective* Legislative Council. But the fiat had gone forth, and on March 4, 1839, the Lieutenant-Governor issued a proclamation dividing the old Council and constituting the new. The powers formerly vested in the Council, as far as concerned the enactment of laws, were vested in the Legislative Council, which was to consist of 12 members, and all other powers whatsoever vested in the said Council were to be exercised by the new Executive Council of *nine* members. Henceforth the Chief Justice was not to have a seat in either of the Councils, as it was considered unwise to involve the judges in the discussion of party politics.

But the division of the Council did not produce the harmony that might reasonably have been expected. The Assembly (in 1839 increased to 24 members) was now on the scent of full Responsible Government, having been balked of such responsibility as might have been indirectly effected through an elective Legislative Council.

In April, 1840, the Assembly moved a series of Resolutions aiming in a general way towards Responsible Government but severely criticizing the Council for opposing progressive agricultural legislation, for obstructing because of vested interests their attempts to ameliorate the lot of the tenants, and for mis-

representing their motives to the Home Government. The Council made an elaborate defence which need not detain us here, except to note that they renewed their attempts to secure separate items of appropriation and denied any personal or family connexions with the proprietors. This led to a spirited reply on the part of the Assembly, and to a detailed analysis of the membership of the two Councils showing beyond a doubt a serious family connexion in both Councils and a very close relationship, on the part of several members, with the proprietors.

Mutual recriminations continued for several years and the Council was restrained from rejecting the Bills of Supply only by the influence of Lieutenant-Governor Huntley (1841-7) who asked them to withold action until he could get a decision in their favor. This he eagerly tried to do, but Gladstone, the Colonial Secretary, declined to intervene first, because the Assembly had not asked his opinion on the point pressed by the Council; and secondly, because the interference of the Imperial Government would probably check rather than promote the growth of sound and just views of the question.

From 1846 to 1851 the Assembly concentrated in a remarkable manner upon the one principle of Responsible Government. This was finally granted after much wearisome negotiation over the provision of a Permanent Civil List. The Assembly endeavored to get the Crown to accept a modified Civil List as part of a contract conditional upon the grant by the Crown of Responsible Government. But Lord Grey explicitly refused anything in the nature of a contract laying down the following interesting principle: "The grant of Responsible Government has never been embodied as a condition in similar acts and there is good reason why it should not be so, for the term although very well understood for practical purposes, has no definite meaning in law, and it is therefore impossible to say what would be a fulfillment of the condition within the technical sense which might be put by legal interpretation on the word. The only conditions, therefore, to be inserted in such an Act on the part of Her Majesty's Government are those relative to the surrender of the Crown Revenues, the rest stand on the faith of the Crown."

The achievement of Responsible Government gave the Assembly effective control over legislation in general; for the Lieutenant-Governor could no longer openly espouse the claims of the Council, in view of the fact that he was now compelled to take the advice of his Executive Council, which in turn was

dependent upon the will of a majority in the Assembly. But the ill-spirit that had been engendered by an almost continuous controversy of twenty-five years was not easily laid; and within three years the Assembly and Council were again at feud over a definition of the meaning of Responsible Government and the right of the Legislative Council to contribute its quota to the departmental offices in the Executive Government.

The quarrel broke out in 1854 and was renewed in 1859. In both cases the Conservatives were in a majority in the Assembly and finding the Liberals in a majority in the Council, in a keen party spirit, they tried to constitute the Executive without reference to the Council and even included some departmental heads who had a seat in neither House; or, as the Council said, they were trying to "introduce ingredients of government from the United States into the constitution of this Her Majesty's Colony, to which Her Majesty's subjects are averse." It is not surprising to find that the leaders in this movement had been opponents of Responsible Government while the defenders of the Departmental System of Responsible Government as adopted in Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were the veteran Reformers.

The controversy of 1854 was settled by a dissolution in order to put into effect an extension of the franchise, and in the election the Reformers triumphed. But in 1859 when the Conservatives were again in power, the Council petitioned the Queen to coerce the Assembly into accepting members of the Council as ministers. The Assembly sent a counter-petition defending their action in excluding Legislative Councillors, and asking the Queen "to authorize your representatives in this colony so to reconstruct the Legislative Council, previous to the next session of the Legislature, that its political prejudices may not continue to obstruct the efforts of the House of Assembly in perfecting those measures which, in their opinion, are best calculated to uphold the institutions and promote the welfare of the inhabitants of the Colony."

In reply to the petition of the Council, the Colonial Secretary declined to advise Her Majesty to interfere with the proper local authorities in the formation of a new administration, but in reply to the Assembly, he gave the Lieutenant-Governor authority "to make such alterations in the Legislative Council as would ensure the harmonious working of the two branches." Accordingly the Lieutenant-Governor added five members to the Council, increasing the number from 12 to 17.

In the meantime the conviction had been growing locally that the problems of the Council could be solved only by making it elective. A bill to that end was introduced in 1856 and was given a three months' hoist by a small majority. It was introduced again in 1857 with the same result. In 1858 an election was held—the membership of the Assembly having been increased to 30 by an Act of 1856. When the House met early in 1859 it could not elect a speaker and was dissolved. When it met after another election the speaker was elected by a majority of *one*. In this session the Elective Council Bill was again introduced, accepted in principle by 23 to 2, and in detail by 17 to 9. It was then agreed to defer further consideration of the bill until next session and in the meantime to print it six times in the Royal Gazette.

The discussions on this Bill show that the local statesmen were still convinced that two chambers were necessary to prevent hasty legislation; but they favored the principle of election for reasons which may be summarized as follows:—

(1) The Council once offered some analogy to the British Second Chamber in that the members were nominated by the Crown, but this analogy no longer exists since they are nominated by party leaders;

(2) When not in harmony with the Assembly the Council merely obstructs it;

(3) A nominated member has less weight than an elected one;

(4) Fourteen members of the last House were pledged to support the Bill, and seventeen in this;

(5) The experiment has proved successful elsewhere;

(6) English statesmen favor it from "Lord Derby at one extreme to Mr. Roebuck at the other."

In the session of 1860, contrary to the expectations of those who had read the Royal Gazette, the Assembly resolved "That as the Legislative Council has but recently been reconstructed, the House does not now deem it expedient to go into the discussion of the Elective Council Bill—the subject being such as would necessarily greatly protract the business of the session." The question, however, was taken up in the session of 1861 and, after a conference between the two Houses, the Bill was carried through successfully; but, as it did not meet with the approval of the Colonial Secretary in all its details, it was recon-

sidered in the session of 1862 and amended in accordance with the Duke of Newcastle's suggestions.

The Colonial Secretary's chief objection to the proposed Bill was the heavy property qualification which it required from the candidates, thereby limiting the choice of the constituencies. He argued that the property qualification should be lighter and should be applied not to the candidate but to the elector. "If it is desired," he wrote, "that the two chambers shall somewhat differ in character from each other, the one supplying what the other may be supposed in some degree to want, this object (it appears to me) can only be effected by creating two somewhat different constituencies, and unreservedly trusting each of them to elect that person, whatever his property or station, whom they may deem the most able and trustworthy representative of their views."

The debates on the details of the Bill were rather more lively than those on the general principle although its opponents discussed the question as if it were still an open one, reiterating their objections that an elective Council would be more expensive than a nominated one, that if elected by the same constituency it would be an echo of the Assembly, and if by a different one it would be a source of obstruction. But on the whole there was remarkable unanimity in their desire to incorporate the suggestions of the Duke of Newcastle; and, finally, the amended Bill was assented to locally in April, receiving the Royal Sanction in November, 1862. On December 3 it came into force by proclamation.

The Bill provided for a Council of 13 members, four from each of the three counties and one from Charlottetown. Candidates must be thirty years of age, British subjects, resident in the colony for five years prior to the teste of the writ of election. Former Councillors otherwise qualified were eligible for re-election. Provision was made for periodical elections, one half retiring every four years, the general term of membership being for eight years. The elector must be a British subject over twenty-one years of age, possessing freehold or leasehold property to the value of £100 currency, and in possession for twelve months before the teste of the writ of election. Both candidate and elector must be male.

Such in brief was the Elective Council Act of 1862. In the debates of the session the most significant statement of the case was that made by Mr. George Sinclair of Princetown: "An Elective Legislative Council will increase the expense of the Legislature which now amounts to over £3,000. This sum shows

that we have already altogether too expensive machinery for this small colony; nor does it seem to be required for most of the Bills passed here are only transcripts of acts in force in other Colonies. Under these circumstances, *I would rather vote for doing away with the Legislative Council entirely.*" In this speech Mr. Sinclair foreshadowed the future. It had taken the various Assemblies over 25 years to achieve what had been vaguely desired in 1834 and again it was to take as long to become convinced of what was but dimly seen at this time. But in 1893 the Council was allowed to disappear with hardly a word in its favor, and the sole argument used against it was the unnecessary expense of a second, elected chamber. As the preamble of the Act of 1893 is its own interpreter it will save further comment to quote it in full:—

"Whereas it is expedient to change the constitution of the Legislature for the purpose of reducing the cost of legislation in the province,

"And whereas the Legislative Council has agreed to surrender its separate powers and privileges and that a Legislature consisting of one House only be constituted, which agreement was made upon the express condition that at least one-half of the members of that House shall be chosen by electors possessing a real estate qualification of the value of at least $325, similar to that now required by electors entitled to vote for members of the Legislative Council as at present constituted, such qualification of electors and proportion of members not to be altered or diminished unless agreed to by at least two-thirds of the members of the Legislative Assembly to be constituted by this Act."

The Act then provided for one House of 30 members, 15 to be styled councillors and 15 assemblymen, the life of the House to be four years with at least one session each year, and any resident male British subject of twenty-one years to be eligible for membership. The franchise for the respective Councillor and Assemblyman was to be as fixed by 53 Vic., Cap. I. And the new single chamber with the Lieutenant-Governor was to have all the powers hitherto exercised by the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly.

Thus the Council or Second Chamber in Prince Edward Island is seen reconciled to its own death and assisting at its own funeral in the faith that it would be born again in the Assembly. This peaceful solution of a thorny question is one that deserves considerable attention, for the principle that emerges here is capable of a wider application. The necessity

of cutting down expenses is often as urgent in a large community as in a smaller one, and if this can be done by reducing machinery without loss of either efficiency or safety it is worthy of emulation. The aim of those who strove for an elective Legislative Council was to secure a Second Chamber that could claim equally with the Assembly to speak for the community but so constituted as "to reflect their settled wishes and principles rather than their transitory impulses." To this end they sought, on the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, to create two constituencies, the one to reflect the wishes of manhood suffrage, the other to reflect the more sluggish interests of property. But in due time they discovered that these two constituencies might be represented better in one chamber than in two. That it would save expense was obvious. But more important still was the fact that the representatives of property, having the greatest stake in the country, could exercise a restraining influence upon those with more transitory impulses in the same chamber; and that, by coalescing with the normal party groups there, they could do so without creating suspicion of class consciousness or of a family compact. In this way the Council, which had known a stormy life of six score years and three, passed quietly to a new life under other conditions. Its passing was more interesting than its life and the manner of its death might well be imitated by other Second Chambers.

2. OSGOODE HALL

BY

THE HON. WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

One of the best known and most interesting buildings in Canada is Osgoode Hall in the City of Toronto. There the Superior Courts of the Province have sat for more than ninety years, even before there was a City of Toronto or a Province of Ontario. In 1832, when Osgoode Hall became our "Palais de Justice," there was only one Superior Court in the Province of Upper Canada, the Court of King's Bench. Created in 1794 to take the place in civil matters of the four Courts of Common Pleas, which had been formed one in each District by Lord Dorchester in 1788, the Court of King's Bench had sat at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) until 1797, when it removed, much to the disgust of Chief Justice John Elmsley, to the new capital, York.

It sat in a room in the Parliament Buildings at the foot of Berkeley street until these buildings were burned by the American invader in 1813—the judges never satisfied, indeed, but unable to procure better accommodation.

The Court followed Parliament to the northwest corner of what are now Bay and Wellington streets, then to buildings on the old site in 1818, until they were accidentally burned in 1824; then to rented rooms, until the new Court House was built in 1826, the foundation stone of which had been laid in the former year. This was on what afterwards was known as Court House Square on the north side of King street, just east of Toronto street.

It was not, however, the needs of the Court which occasioned the erection of Osgoode Hall. A few years after the creation of the Court of King's Bench, another entity was brought into existence by legislative fiat; in 1797 the Law Society of Upper Canada was formed which still flourishes and is an instrument for good. The "Benchers" or governors of that body, after the initial meeting at Wilson's Hotel, Newark, July 17, 1797, held all their meetings at York; these were generally held in the office of the Attorney-General or the Solicitor-General, although some were held in the office of the Clerk of the Crown, at the Court House or the Library of Parliament.

It was, however, recognized that some permanent home should be formed for the Society; and, in 1820, a plot of land

on the southeast corner of King and Church streets was bought for the purpose of erecting thereon a suitable building. At the instance of the Attorney General, John Beverley Robinson (afterwards Chief Justice Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart.), the name "Osgoode Hall" was selected for the proposed building. The name was in compliment to William Osgoode, the first Chief Justice of Upper Canada, 1792-1794, and Chief Justice at Quebec, 1794-1802. For some reason not apparent the site was, later, considered unsuitable. Nothing was done towards building upon it.

The scheme was enlarged, and by 1825 it was proposed to erect a building to accommodate not only the Law Society but also "the Court of King's Bench with all necessary apartments according to the importance and dignity of its functions," a "building worthy of the Province and its seat of Government." The Benchers were willing to pay as much as £2,000 ($8,000) towards the project, expecting the Government to pay the balance and provide a site. This plan for a time seemed to be in a fair way of being carried into effect, but, in 1828, the Society came to the conclusion that nothing satisfactory could be done in conjunction with the Government. Accordingly in that year Convocation bought from the Attorney-General six acres of land for £1,000 ($4,000), and struck a Committee of Management for approving plans, making contracts and superintending the erection of the building.

But the project lagged and it was not until February, 1832, that Convocation could meet in the building; on the same day the Court of King's Bench took possession of the part allotted. The "Osgoode Hall" of that day was part of the present East Wing. It contained chambers for barristers and students, with board, and was occupied in 1832.

In 1833, the part of Osgoode Hall in the centre below the present Library was built "to afford twenty-four comfortable bed-chambers with stair-case and passages and eight commodious offices." From 1838 until 1843, the hall was occupied as barracks by the troops. When the Law Society regained possession in the latter year, it expended £100 annually for some years in erecting the present very handsome stone wall and iron fence.

It was determined, in 1844, to enlarge the building and, in that and the following two years, were built the West Wing and

the Library in the centre with two domes connecting the two wings. An addition northward was made, in 1856, to the West Wing; and by 1860 the Osgoode Hall as it stood before the extension northward of both wings and centre, was completed. The dome was removed from the centre and a facade of Caen stone set up, while the whole interior was remodelled.

3. ANCIENS FORTS DANS LE NORD-OUEST

PAR

LE JUGE L.-A. PRUD'HOMME

La Tourette, frère de Greysolon Du Lhut, fut le premier qui érigeât des forts dans la partie occidentale du lac Supérieur, ainsi qu'au lac Népigon et au nord de ce lac. Greysolon Du Lhut de la Tourette fonda pendant l'été de 1678 le fort *Caministigoyan,* à l'entrée du lac Népigon. Pour intercepter les fourrures que les sauvages allaient porter aux postes de la Baie James, il construisit, six ans plus tard (1684), à l'embouchure de la rivière Ombabiha (lac Népigon), le fort qui porta son nom (*La Tourette*). Il bâtit, en 1686, le fort des Français aux fourches des rivières Kenogami et Albany. En 1717, Zacharie Robutel de la Nouë construisit un autre fort à l'embouchure de la rivière Kaministigoya. Cet endroit avait auparavant été visité par Médard-Chouart de Groseilliers et par Pierre-Esprit Radisson. Un nouveau poste fut construit entre les années 1718 et 1720 à l'embouchure de la rivière Pigeon.

Nous voici donc avec 5 postes ou petits forts échelonnés entre la rivière Pigeon et les rivières Kenogami et Albany, qui furent jusqu'en 1731 le pied-à-terre le plus avancé au nord-ouest de la Nouvelle-France. Il est vrai que M. DeNoyen en 1688 s'était rendu par la rivière Kaministagoya jusqu'à la rivière La Pluie, mais son expédition n'avait été suivie d'aucune prise de possession du pays. Autrefois la hauteur des terres servait comme la ligne de division naturelle entre l'est et l'ouest, et l'on n'entrevoyait pas les divisions provinciales qui font aujourd'hui du Manitoba l'entrée dans le Nord-Ouest. Au temps de La Vérendrye le lac Nemeukan constituait la frontière entre ces deux divisions parce qu'une partie des eaux de ce lac se déverse dans le lac Supérieur et l'autre dans le lac La Pluie.

Christophe Dufrost de la Jemmeraye fut le premier blanc qui construisit un fort dans l'ouest, en l'automne de 1731. A l'endroit où les eaux du lac La Pluie tombent dans la rivière du même nom, une pointe de terre s'avance comme pour fermer l'entrée de cette rivière. C'est dans la baie formée par cette pointe que ce fort fut érigé, à environ deux milles à l'est de l'endroit où les eaux du lac Pluie tombent dans la rivière du cée de cette pointe se trouve un tertre ou tumulus qui, paraît-il, avait été construit par les Mandans et qui servait de point d'observation aux Monsonis. La Jemmeraye n'avait alors que 22

ans et était accompagné de son cousin germain Jean-Baptiste La Vérendrye, fils aîné du découvreur. Il donna à ce fort le nom de *Saint-Pierre* en l'honneur de Pierre-Gauthier de Varennes, Sieur de La Vérendrye, le découvreur du Nord-ouest. Je me rappelle d'avoir vu la cave d'un édifice où, d'après la tradition, ce fort avait autrefois existé. Deux cerisiers produisant des fruits tout-à-fait différents de ceux que l'on receuille dans ce district se trouvaient tout près de cet endroit.

Fort Saint-Charles.—Ce fort fut le plus important de l'ouest jusqu'à la fondation du Fort La Reine. Ce fut La Vérendrye lui-même qui le fit construire sur la rive sud de la Rivière de l'Angle, en 1732. Le site en a été visité et identifié en août 1908. Il se trouve sur la section 24, Township 168, Rang 34, à l'ouest du 5e Méridien. Il avait 100 pieds de longueur et 60 pieds de largeur. C'est dans ce fort que furent déposés, en 1736, les restes du P. Aulneau, de J.-Bte. La Vérendrye et de leurs 19 compagnons assassinés en juin 1736 sur l'île au Massacre par une bande de maraudeurs Sioux.

Une croix de bois fut plantée à cet endroit, en 1908, par les membres de l'expédition qui apportèrent à Saint-Boniface les restes de ces vingt-et-un Français. Une plaque commémorative devrait aussi être placée à *l'Ile au Massacre,* qui fut identifiée pour la première fois, en 1890, par un parti de PP. Jésuites. Une croix fut dressée au sommet de l'île, et une chapelle bâtie sur la pointe ouest. A la demande de La Vérendrye, son commis, Cartier, bâtit un fort d'occasion, vers juillet ou août 1734, sur la rive ouest de la Rivière Rouge, appelé *Fort à la fourche aux Roseaux.* Ce fort ne comprenait qu'une maison en bois équarri et un hangar destiné aux marchandises et aux fourrures. Il est impossible de dire l'endroit exact de ce petit poste qui, d'après les indications, serait à cinq lieues au sud du lac Winnipeg. On croit généralement qu'il se trouvait en effet à cette distance du lac, à un endroit où la rive extrêmement basse et souvent inondée se relève tout à coup. Le magasin de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, d'après la tradition, fut construit tout à côté du Fort à la fourche aux Roseaux. La même année, à l'automme, J.-Bte. La Vérendrye fondait le *Fort Maurepas,* sur la rive nord de la rivière Winnipeg, un peu plus bas que le *Fort Alexandre,* à l'entrée d'une petite rivière.

La Vérendrye atteignit l'embouchure de la rivière Assiniboine le 24 septembre 1738, et de là se rendit au Portage-la-Prairie, où il érigea le Fort La Reine. En passant au Fort Maurepas, en 1738, il avait donné instruction à D'Amours

de Louvières de construire un fort sur la rive sud de la Rivière Assiniboine, près de l'endroit où cette rivière se jette dans la Rivière Rouge. M. de Louvières suivit les directions du découvreur; mais il est impossible de retrouver le site de ce fort, qui fut appelé *Fort Rouge,* parce que la porte d'entrée de la bâtisse principale avait été badigeonnée de cette couleur. Le *Fort La Reine* fut terminé le 15 octobre 1738. On croit généralement que le poste de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson fut construit sur les ruines de ce fort, au bord d'une coulée qui au printemps, à la crue des eaux, permettait aux canots d'atteindre le Lac Manitoba, après un court portage. Ce fut le découvreur lui-même qui fit construire le Fort La Reine.

Le *Fort Dauphin* fut commencé à l'automne de 1741 par Pierre Gauthier de La Vérendrye, le deuxième fils du découvreur, sur la rive Nord-ouest du lac Dauphin, au quart sud-est de la Section 27, Township 27, Rang 18, à un mille ou deux de l'embouchure de la rivière Valley, à moins de 100 pieds du rivage du lac Dauphin. On retrouve encore des caves qui en indiquent l'endroit précis.

La même année, Pierre Gauthier de la Vérendrye constituisit le *Fort Bourdon* (le premier de ce nom) à l'embouchure de la rivière Red Deer, sur le lac Winnipegosis, dans la Baie Dawson.

Les fils de La Vérendrye érigèrent, en 1748, un fort sur le Lac Bourbon, aujourd'hui Cedar, le premier fort de ce nom ayant été abandonné. Les ruines du deuxième *Fort Bourbon* ont été indentifiées. Vers la même année ils en construisirent un à l'entrée de la Rivière Pasquia, probablement à *Le Pas,* et un autre appelé *Poskayac,* à l'est de la jonction des deux branches de la Rivière Saskatchewan.

Le chevalier de la Corne de Saint-Luc éleva non loin du Fort Poskayac un autre fort appelé *Fort La Corne* ou *Nipawi,* vers 1753.

Quelques Français, envoyés en 1751 par M. de Niverville, retenu par la maladie au Fort Poskayac, atteignirent l'endroit qu'occupe aujourd'hui Calgary, et y fondèrent le *Fort La Jonquière.* Le capitaine Brisebois, en érigeant les casernes de la Police à cheval, près de la jonction des rivières de l'Arc et du Coudre, y retrouva les restes de ce fort.

4. THE LANDING PLACE OF JACQUES CARTIER AT GASPE, IN 1534

BY

F. J. RICHMOND

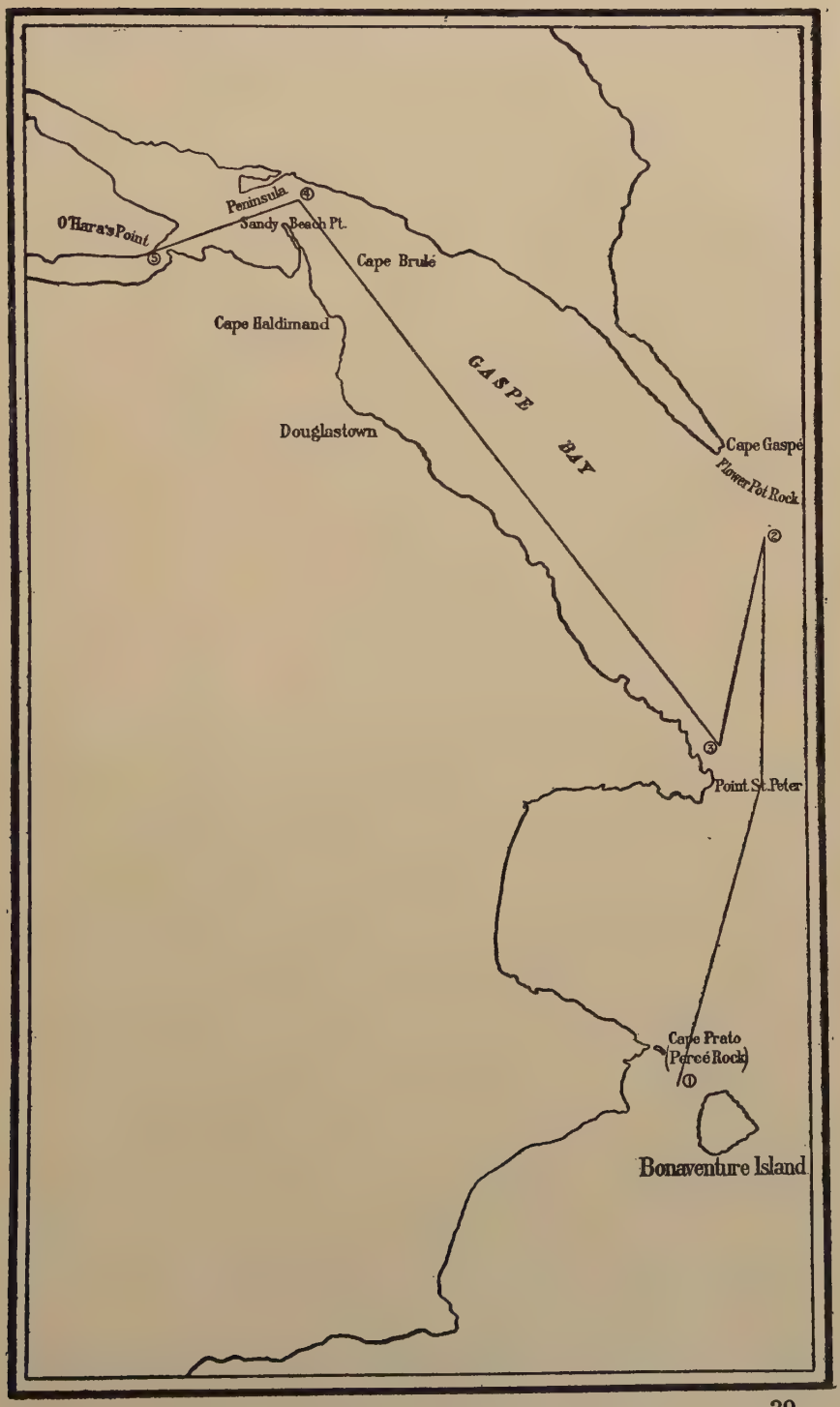
According to his Journal (Hakluyt), Cartier anchored between Cape Prato (Percé Rock) and an island (Bonaventure Island), on July 12, 1534.

He sailed thence, on July 13, 1534, and followed the coast, which he described " as Lyeth Northeast;" we next read, " there arose such stormie and raging winds against vs that we were constrained to come to the place againe from whence we were come;" or in other words, owing to unfavourable weather conditions, he was obliged to return to anchorage between Percé Rock and Bonaventure Island.[1]

The Journal or Log entry for July 14, 15 and 16 reads as follows: " We hoised vp saile and we came to the middest of a riuer (Gaspé Bay) Northward fiue or sixe leagues from Cape of Prato (Percé Rock), and being ouverthwart (abreast) there arose againe a contrary wind with great fogges and stormes so that we were constrained vpon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer; and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it; on which day being Thursday, the wind became so ragging that one of our ships lost an anker; we were constrained to goe vp higher into the riuer seuen or eight leagues into a good harborough and ground (anchorage) that we with our boates found out."

Before discussing Cartier's probable course up Gaspé Bay and landing places, I would call attention to the well-known fact that he was very inaccurate in the determination of latitude and longitude; not always correct in estimating distances run or courses followed; yet he always mentioned some distinctive feature by which places described can easily be recognized by the present day readers. It is also essential, when considering Cartier's voyages, to remember that the league in use in 1534 was equal to two and one-half nautical miles only.

[1] The author is indebted for assistance to Dr. John M. Clarke, of Albany, N.Y., and to Captain Russel Coffin, of Gaspé, who, in addition to general assistance, traced upon the chart the probable course of Cartier from Bonaventure Island to Gaspé Basin.


Peninsula
④
Sandy Beach Pt.
O'Hara's Point
⑤
Cape Brulé
Cape Haldimand
GASPE BAY
Douglastown
Cape Gaspé
Flower Pot Rock
②
③
Point St. Peter
Cape Prato
(Percé Rock)
①
Bonaventure Island

Cartier's Journal of his voyage from Bonaventure Island to Gaspé, recapitulated, would show:—

1. That at a certain distance from Percé Rock northward he came to the middle of a river—(Gaspé Bay);
2. That when lying overthwart or abreast of the river or bay he met a contrary wind and stormy weather and was obliged to enter the bay for shelter; that as the storm progressed he was driven from anchorage, and sought refuge in a good harbor and ground (anchorage), which he used boats to find out—(evidently Gaspé Basin).

In order reasonably to determine the exact point of landing, it is necessary to consider:—

1. The position of Cartier's ships when the contrary wind was encountered;
2. The direction of the wind and storm which, without doubt, exercised great influence upon his choice of anchorage and subsequent course;
3. The approximate course and distance run from anchorage to Gaspé Basin;

Accepting the minimum run stated in log, namely five leagues or twelve and a half miles northward from Percé Rock, Cartier's ships should have been fairly early in the day of July 14, 1534, about in the position designated upon the accompanying chart by the figure 2.

Cartier apparently did not have any intention of examining Gaspé Bay, but rather of continuing his voyage along the coast. He could have done so with wind from the west, southwest, south, southeast, east, but not with head winds from the north, northwest and northeast. A contrary or head wind I would define as one coming from a direction opposite to that which had propelled a vessel to a given point; or as one coming from a direction opposite to that which it is the desire of the navigator to follow.

Local mariners,[1] after careful consideration of the question, are of the opinion that the storm encountered by Cartier must have come from the northeast. The writer, besides, has found

[1] Captains George T. Annett, Clement Roberts, and Edwin Miller, of Gaspé, First Officer Hubert Coffin, also of Gaspé, and many mariners and fishermen.

out from weather diaries kept by him for a number of years that during the month of July in nearly every year there occur from one to two storms from a northeast direction (cf. appended weather diary extracts for years 1903 to 1910 inc.). The storm met by Cartier was not unlike those that occurred in the months of July, 1907 and 1910.

A 'northeaster' begins, generally speaking, with cloudy weather and light wind. About the second or third day, the wind, which has been increasing in force and accompanied by fog and rain, veers as the storm progresses to the east, then southeast, often going around to the southwest in the clearing stage. The lower Bay of Gaspé anchorages in the first stage of a storm are none too good, but when the wind veers to east and the sea enters the Bay, it is impossible for ships to ride at anchor. (For description of sea conditions in the lower Bay of Gaspé during storms, see *The St. Lawrence Pilot*, 1894, vol. 1, page 79).

The next important question is whether Cartier anchored upon the northern or southern shores of Gaspé Bay. Two courses were open to him, when he encountered the contrary or head wind: Firstly, he could have worked to windward and run in under the high land of the north shore of Gaspé Bay, slightly above Cape Gaspé, where he would have found reasonable shelter until that stage of the storm when the sea entering the bay would have driven him out. This shore has high cliffs and an unfavourable look, and would not appeal to a mariner seeking shelter upon an unknown coast. Secondly, he could have stood in to the south shore, which regarded from the sea has a more favourable appearance, and anchored slightly inside of Point St. Peter, the point of the southern entrance to the lower Bay of Gaspé, where he would have been reasonably safe until the stage of the storm when the sea would enter the Bay and drive him out—(which did occur).

It would appear that Cartier did not anchor on the north shore of Gaspé Bay for the following reasons:

The minimum distance from anchorage to "Harborough" is stated at seven leagues (17½ miles); the maximum distance, at eight leagues (20 miles). The distance from Cape Gaspé to Gaspé Basin is given by *The St. Lawrence Pilot*—an Admiralty navigating handbook—as follows:—

Flower Pot Rock (Cape Gaspé) to lighthouse at extreme northern end of Sandy Beach.....	11 miles
Sandy Beach Bar lighthouse to anchorage Gaspé Basin.	3½ "
	14½ "

(an overrun of minimum log distance of 3 miles; an overrun of maximum log distance of 5½ miles.)

Dealing with the anchorage question in so far as the south shore of the bay is in question, distances, according to *The St. Lawrence Pilot,* are as follows:—

Point St. Peter to Douglastown.....	12 miles
Douglastown to Cape Haldimand.....	2 "
Cape Haldimand to the northern end of Sandy Beach Bar	3 "
Sandy Beach Bar lighthouse to anchorage on Western side of O'Hara's Point, Gaspé Basin (estimated) at	3½ "
	20½ "
Deduct distance of supposed anchorage inside of Point St. Peter	½ "
	20 "

This practically agrees with the maximum run of eight leagues, or twenty miles, from anchorage to "Harborough." Master mariners and mariners consulted have, therefore, concluded that the first anchorage of Cartier in the lower Bay of Gaspé was on the southern side, in the neighborhood of Point St. Peter, a position indicated upon the chart by A, 3. Their opinion is that, the wind probably being on shore, he anchored in about twelve fathoms of water, so as to be able if necessary to work off shore easily. They also believed that his trip from Bonaventure Island towards Gaspé Basin proceeded about as follows:—

July 14, 1534.—He sailed from anchorage between Bonaventure Island and Percé (Chart, A. 1); wind probably from the south; course, until opening Gaspé Bay, N.N.E., thence, N. true.

A distance run of five leagues or twelve and a half miles would bring him about to the position designated upon the chart by the figure 2. Thence, upon meeting the northeast wind, it is presumed that he stood in to the south shore and anchored in

about twelve fathoms of water at about the position indicated by A, 3.

July 15, 1534.—The fleet evidently rode at anchor, but, the next day, when the wind veered and the sea entered the bay, rendering anchorage untenable, they ran up Gaspé Bay probably on a course N. by W. for a distance of fifteen and a half miles, which would carry the vessels to the extreme northern end of Sandy Beach Bar (Chart, 4). At this position they would open the Narrows leading into Gaspé Basin, and O'Hara's Point could be seen extending out into it. So it is reasonable to suppose that at the position indicated by 4 on the chart, the course was changed to W. to half N. Mag., which would carry the vessels into Gaspé Basin to anchorage on the western side of O'Hara's Point (Chart A, 5), about three and a half miles distant from position No. 4.

The distance measured along a regular ship's course is 19 miles, whereas per shore or coastal line it is 20 miles, which agrees with the distance covered by Cartier (20 miles) and shows that he did not take a direct course, but followed the trend of the shore. This accounts for the difference of one mile.

The master mariners and seamen consulted, all of whom are experienced in matters relating to the navigation of the Gulf and coast, were of the opinion that the mention of the use of boats to examine the harbor indicates that before bringing his ships through the Narrows, he used boats to examine the channel. After examining the Journal of Voyage and weighing all possible points which might have exerted influence upon Cartier's choice of a landing place, they were agreed that on July 22, 1534, Cartier must have landed upon O'Hara's Point in Gaspé Basin.

Appendix

Conclusions arrived at by mariners as to the landing place of Cartier.

1. Cap-aux-Os (charted as Cape Brulé), Sandy Beach and Peninsula, formerly considered as possible landing places, are too far down the Bay of Gaspé and were without doubt passed by Cartier. The use of boats to seek harbor and anchorage denotes narrow waters. The three above-mentioned places are situated where the bay is some miles in width, with deep water close in

shore. Anchorage consequently could have been found without boats, the use of the lead being sufficient.

These places, besides, cannot be designated as " the Point at the entrance of the Haven." Apart from being well within the distance run by Cartier, the designation cannot apply to them. Cap-aux-Os is situated where the bay is several miles wide, and it is many miles too far down the bay. Sandy Beach might be called the Point at the entrance of the outer bay or harbor, but it is a narrow tide-swept spit, unsuitable for a landing place and the erection of a cross. As to Peninsula, it cannot be considered as " the Point at the entrance of the haven."

2. O'Hara's Point, on the other hand, seems to suit the description. This point is of the " barachois " type, common in Gaspesia; it is low and open and situated at the extreme western end of the narrows leading from the outer to the inner harbor or Basin of Gaspé. The water is bold and the ship channel through the narrows approaches the point closely. It is the natural landing place of shipping and boats frequenting the harbor; practically the greater volume of the water-borne business of the port is to-day transacted upon it.

3. Cartier mentions the use of boats, thereby indicating that he had the narrow and shoal channel examined and sounded before bringing his ships through to the anchorage in the inner basin. Any cautious mariner would do likewise before risking vessels in narrow unknown waters.

The Narrows of Gaspé Harbor or Basin are described in *The St. Lawrence Pilot* as follows:—" The entrance to the Southwest Arm, about 360 yards wide between two sandy points; but the navigable channel which is buoyed is contracted by shoals on either side to about 120 yards and 27 feet of water can be carried in mid-channel. There are no good leading marks into Gaspé Basin; vessels therefore must be guided by the chart and by the eye."

4. Cartier mentions a mackerel fishing ground. Such were the Narrows until mackerel deserted the coast.

5. Distance from Point St. Peter to the Harbor alone would be in favour of this Point. The description, moreover, confirms this presumption.

6. Cartier states that the cross was erected " Vpon the point of the entrance of the said Hauen." O'Hara's Point is the only one within the bay that answers fully this description.

7. Upon the Indian Chief raising objection apparently to the erection of the cross, Cartier attempted to explain to him that " The cross was but onely set vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the Port." Evidently Cartier was a shrewd observer; possibly having in mind how well situated this point would be if ever a light was required for the purposes of navigation. Later mariners were of the same opinion, for, during many years and until recently, the lighthouse which guided shipping into and out of the port stood upon the extreme end of this point, not many feet distant from the spot where Cartier's cross must have been erected. See *The St. Lawrence Pilot,* which describes it as follows:—

> Lights.—" From a square wooden lighthouse 37 feet high and painted white, erected on O'Hara's Point, (the north entrance point to the southwest arm), is exhibited at an elevation of 38 feet above high water, a fixed red light visible 7 miles in clear weather."

Weather diaries of the author in connection with the direction of storms in July, 1903 to 1910

1903—July 8, cloudy; 9, strong east wind, fog and rain; 10, east wind, fog and rain; 11, fine.

1904—July 11, northeast wind, fog and rain; 12, north-east wind, fog and rain; 13, south-east wind veering to south, rain and fog; weather moderating; 14, fine.

1905—July 8, north-east wind, very stormy, rain; 9, north-east wind, rainy; 10, fine; 24, stormy, wind strong n.e. to easterly, rain, fog; 25, conditions unchanged, wind north-east, rain; 26, north to n.e., wind, rainy; 27, clearing.

1906—July. Weather throughout month fine; no disturbance sufficiently marked to classify as storm; weather warm, on the whole, with an occasional thunder storm and showers; winds moderate; south during day and westerly during night and early mornings—on the whole a fine month.

1907—July 4, north-east wind, fog and rain; 5, north-east wind, fog and rain; 6, north-east wind, fog and rain; 9, strong east wind, rain and fog; 10, north-east to easterly wind, rain, fog and very stormy; 11, north-east wind, rain, fog; 12, north-east wind, rain and fog; 13, north-east wind,

rain and fog; 14, weather clearing; 19, wind during day north-east to south-east, settling down to north-east; rain and cloudy; 20, strong north-east wind, fog and rain; 21, storm continues, wind north-east, rain; 22, stormy, rain, wind south to south-east; 23, unsettled, more moderate; 24, rainy, very strong south-east breeze; 25, south-east wind inclined to veer towards the south, very high wind and a very heavy storm, rain; 26, unchanged; a very heavy storm; 27, no change in conditions; strong south-east to south wind; 28, weather improved, storm moderating; 29, fine.

1908—July; no stormy weather, this month.

1909—July 1, rainy, wind moderate n.e.; 2, north-east wind, rain; 3, cloudy weather, north-east wind; 4, conditions unchanged, north-east wind; 5, north-east wind, rainy;

1910—July 4, rainy, moderate north-east wind veering to north to north-west; a very heavy breeze from north-west quarter; 24, unsettled; 25, north-east wind, rain and storm; 26, north-east wind, rainy, stormy; 27, south-east wind, stormy, rain; 28, south-east wind, stormy, rain; 29, south-east wind, rainy; 30, south-east wind, rainy; 31, wind more moderate, shifting to south, rainy, but clearing.

Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill, Man., at the present day (Photo., J. A. Campbell, 1919).

Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill, Man. View along the top of the walls (Photo., J. A. Campbell).

Facing p. 46.

5. A HISTORIC MONUMENT ON HUDSON BAY

BY

F. J. Alcock

On the shores of Hudson Bay stands a historic monument which rivals in interest the better known fortresses of Quebec and Louisburg. Like these two strongholds, the history of Fort Prince of Wales at Churchill is part of the story of the struggles between France and England for the mastery of the northern part of the American continent. The reason for the building of this most northerly of the American fortresses, the story of its construction, its history and capture, and the condition in which it stands to-day seem to be of sufficient interest to warrant restatement.

Fort Prince of Wales stands on the summit of Eskimo Point, a low ridge of rock jutting out into Hudson Bay on the west side of the mouth of Churchill river. Opposite is another, but shorter, promontory—Cape Merry. Between these two low ridges lies the harbour of Churchill, the only natural harbour on the west coast of Hudson Bay.

Churchill harbour was discovered in September, 1619, by a Danish sea-captain named Jens Munck who with two ships spent the following winter there; it was not, however, until the establishment of The Hudson's Bay Company that any settlement was made in the region. After The Hudson's Bay Company received its charter from King Charles I, in 1670, trading posts were soon established at the mouths of the larger rivers which flow into the Bay. Within fifteen years there were five of these forts, Albany River, Hayes Island, Rupert River, Port Nelson and New Severn. A fishery for white whales was established in the year 1686, at the mouth of Churchill River, the name being given after the newly-appointed governor of the Company, John Churchill, afterwards first Duke of Marlborough. Later, in 1715, a wooden fort, to which the name Fort Prince of Wales was given, was built by Captain James Knight about five miles up from the mouth of the river at the point where the present buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company now stand.

The years 1690 to 1697 saw a series of conflicts between the French and English on Hudson Bay. In 1690, York, the

Company's chief port on the Bay, situated at the mouth of Hayes River, was captured by French forces under the command of the famous French-Canadian admiral, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville. Two years later it was recaptured by the British, but d'Iberville again, in 1697, sailed into the Bay, defeated a British fleet, and once more took possession of York. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, all the country which had been taken from the British was restored. There now arose in England a strong sentiment in favour of strengthening all the Company's forts on the Bay to prevent a recurrence of the disasters of 1694 and 1697. It was not without considerable opposition among some of the directors of the Company that such a course was determined upon; but, in the end, the fortification party won out and it was decided to build a new stone fort of great size and strength at the opening to the Company's best harbour. This would always be a refuge to which the Company's ships and servants from the other trading posts along the coast could retire in case of necessity. (Cf. Plan of the Fort, by J. B. Tyrrell, 1894.)

The work on the new fort was begun in 1733 and completed in 1771. It was designed by competent engineers who had served under Marlborough; but the actual construction did not always progress smoothly. The best account of the early years of building is given by Joseph Robson, an engineer who was sent out from England by the Company to superintend the construction of the fort and who has written an account of his six years experience on Hudson Bay. Robson apparently had great difficulty in carrying out his work sufficiently owing to the interference of the governor at Churchill and to the lack of competent workmen. There seems but little doubt that if he had had the full support of the local authorities, the new stone fort would have been built in much less time, at considerable less expense and in a much better manner than was actually the case. Only one example of this need be cited. The original plans called for a rampart forty-two feet thick. The governor, however, was so certain that a wall twenty-five feet thick would do instead that he ordered the foundations to be so laid. When the cannon, however, were tried, it was found that they ran off the wall so that it was necessary to rebuild the walls according to the original specifications.

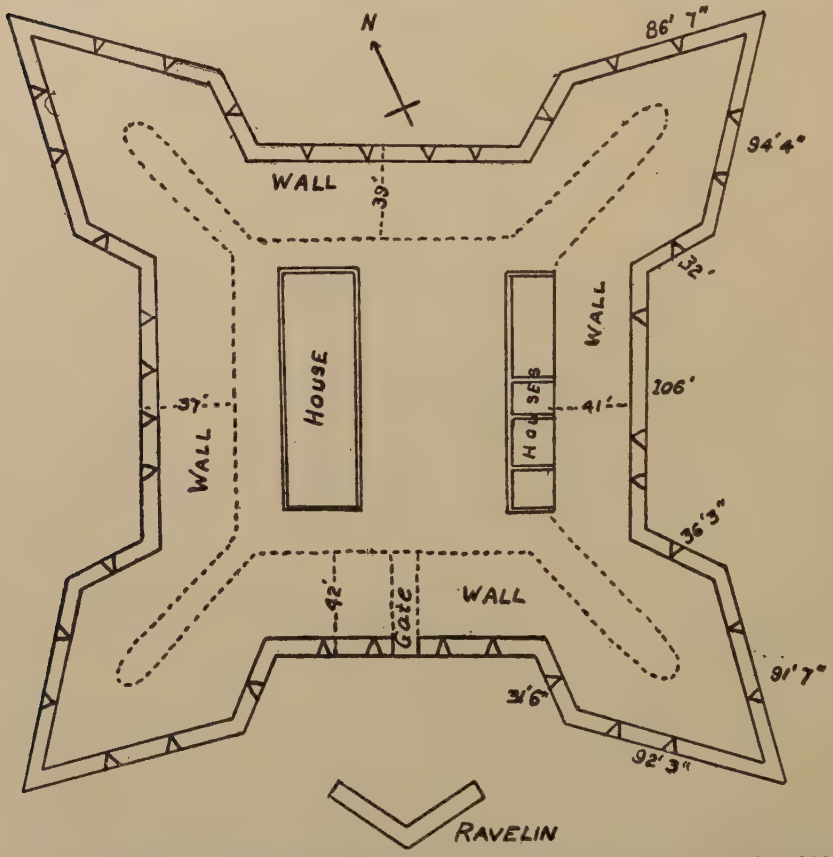
Robson's interesting estimate of the cost of building the fort during the first three years of construction gives some idea of the cost of labor and living at that date.

	£	s.	d.
Four masons at £25 per annum each for three years ..	300	0	0
Maintenance of ditto at 5s. per week each.....	156	0	0
Ditto in their passage out and home, five months	20	0	0
Eleven labourers at £6 per annum each for three years	198	0	0
Maintenance of ditto at 5s. per week each.....	429	0	0
Ditto in their passage out and home.....	55	0	0
Four horses at £15 each.....	60	0	0
Charge of ditto in the ship.....	8	8	0
Ditto—in the country at 6d. per day for three years	109	10	0
Three hundred pounds wt. of gunpowder for blowing up stones.....	15	0	0
Utensils for three years, as carriages, ropes, blocks, etc.	60	0	0
Iron-crows, great hammers, etc.	15	0	0
Total	£1,425	18	0

Robson estimated that the rampart could have been completed in six more years, at a total cost of £4217 : 14 : 0, and that the total cost of the whole fort including the stone parapet on top of the walls and the stone buildings inside the walls should not have cost the company more than eight thousand pounds. The materials for the structure were all close at hand. The stone used for the walls was the grey quartzite of the rock ridges of Churchill, and none of this had to be moved more than half a mile. Limestone and sand, and wood for burning the lime, were also found nearby.

The completed fort has a length of 310 feet on the north and south sides, and 317 feet on the east and west sides, the measurements taken from the corners of the bastions. The walls vary in thickness from 37 to 42 feet and have a height of 16 feet 9 inches from the base to the top of the parapet. The parapet is 5 feet high and 6 feet 3 inches thick. The outer part of the wall is formed of dressed stone with the exception of the part facing the river. The parapet contains forty embrasures and the guns for these, which vary in size from six to twenty-four pounders, are still to be seen lying on the wall. Three of the bastions contained storehouses and the fourth a powder magazine. (See " A North-west View of Prince of Wales' Fort

in Hudson's Bay, North America. By Samuel Hearne, 1777.") Inside the fort are the remains of a stone house 103 feet long and 33 feet wide. The fort is surrounded by a flat gravel-covered terrace absolutely barren of trees, and the base of its walls now stands seventeen feet above ordinary spring tide.



Plan of Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill, Man., by J. B. Tyrell, 1894 (Walls, 37 to 42 feet thick 16 feet 9 inches high; scale; 80 feet=1 inch).

It was from this fort that Samuel Hearne was sent in 1769 by Governor Norton to investigate reports of copper deposits in the region northwest of Churchill. After two unsuccessful attempts, Hearne finally succeeded in reaching the Coppermine

river. This third journey of Hearne's was probably the most noteworthy feat of exploration accomplished by the Hudson's Bay Company. As a reward for his services Hearne was appointed Governor of Fort Prince of Wales.

Hearne's record as governor is not as creditable as the reputation he made for himself as an explorer. It was during his regime that Fort Prince of Wales suffered its one and only attack. On August 8, 1782, a French fleet consisting of the "Sceptre," of seventy-four guns, and the "Astarte" and the "Engageante," each of thirty-six guns, under the command of Admiral La Pérouse appeared off the fort. The garrison consisted of but thirty-nine men, and when, on the following morning, four hundred French soldiers approached the fort and demanded its surrender, Hearne immediately replied by seizing a tablecloth and hoisting it over the parapet. The attacking forces, though comparatively strong in numbers were in very poor condition after a long sea voyage; most of them were wretchedly clad and half of them were barefoot. Had even a show of resistance been made, it might have meant the saving of the fort. Hearne has been very severely criticized for his hasty surrender. The greatest blame, however, must rest on the Company for providing such a feeble garrison after going to the expense of constructing such a fortress. The French artillerymen of La Pérouse spent two days in endeavouring to demolish the walls. They succeeded in displacing the upper rows of the massive stones, in dismounting the guns, and in blowing up the gateway, but the massive walls resisted all their efforts. With their stores replenished by this capture, the French fleet sailed south and captured York Factory with the same ease as they had taken Fort Prince of Wales. Hearne was carried to France as a prisoner by the French admiral.

In the following year peace was signed between France and England and Hearne was sent back by the Hudson's Bay Company to take charge again at Churchill. He did not attempt to occupy the stone fort but established his residence five miles up from the mouth of the river on the site of the original post of the Company. The stone fort was never rebuilt. It stands today in the same condition as that in which La Perouse left it, interesting as a historic monument but serving no practical purpose except perhaps as a beacon to mark Churchill harbour.

SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

BY

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

Considerable progress in the past year was made in the work of preserving and marking the Canadian historic sites of national importance. A general meeting of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board was held at which a number of sites under consideration were reviewed and their comparative importance determined. The cooperation of provincial and local historical societies in the preservation of Dominion landmarks has been sought, and forty of these have offered their assistance. Six hundred and ten sites have already come to the attention of the Department and out of these eighty-two have received immediate attention.

A summary of what has been accomplished during the past year follows. The data included in last year's summary are not repeated here. (*Cf. The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, Annual Report 1921*, pp. 42-51).

THE MARITIME PROVINCES

Louisbourg, N.S.

Ruins of an old French fort, built in 1720-40, once a stronghold of France. The survey of the whole site was undertaken by the Department of Railways and Canals, and the returns with plans have been received.

Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.

Formerly the old French Fort Piziquid, which came into possession of the British soon after 1749; transferred for preservation and restoration from the Department of Militia and Defence to The Canadian National Parks Branch.

Fort Moncton (about one and a half mile from Fort Elgin, N.B.)

Formerly the old Fort Gaspereaux, erected at Bay Verte by the French about 1750, to command the defence of the Isthmus of Chignecto, and captured in 1755 by the British. All that remains is the square of trenches, some old grave stones, and the ancient turnpike and causeway. The contour of the walls can easily be ascertained.

A north-west view of Fort Prince of Wales in Hudson Bay, by Samuel Hearne, 1777.

Ruins of Fort Cumberland, N.S., (Photo., Can. Nat. Parks).

Facing p. 52,

Fort Cumberland (about four miles from Amherst, N.S.)

Formerly the old French Fort Beauséjour, erected in the middle of the seventeenth century near Beaubassin, one of the most important Acadian settlements. It was captured in 1755 by the British and named Fort Cumberland. The ruins of a fort of five bastions and of the old barracks are still to be seen. The casemates are still in a fair state of preservation, being of solid brickwork. The site will be fenced, the ruins preserved from further deterioration, and a cairn and tablet erected.

Fort Lawrence (about three miles from Amherst, N.S.)

Erected in 1750 at Misagouche by Major Charles Lawrence, it proved an important factor in the struggles between the French and English in the eighteenth century. Only vague traces of trenches remain. It is intended to erect a monument and tablet.

Battle of Grand Pré (near Grand-Pré Station).

Site of the battle of February 10, 1748. Monument and tablet to be erected.

QUEBEC

St. Maurice Forges (near Three Rivers).

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 43.) A cairn constructed of stones from the ruins will be erected during the present summer, and a bronze tablet with inscription will be attached.

La Vérendrye, Three Rivers.

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 43.) The foundations of his birthplace, now situated in a beautiful park overlooking the St. Lawrence River, in the city of Three Rivers, are still to be seen, and a tablet has been erected privately on one of the pillars which support the iron railing surrounding the park.

Battle of Three Rivers.

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 43.) A monument with a standard bronze tablet bearing the historic data will be erected on a plot of land along Des Forges Street.

Chateauguay, Allan's Corners.

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 43.) A blockhouse was erected in the spring of 1815, two or three miles below the site of the battle,

on the right bank of the Chateauguay River. Outlines of the walls are still in evidence. A monument and tablet will be erected.

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix.

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 47.) This site comprises five islands covering an area of approximately 210 acres, together with the buildings. It is now under the control of the Department of the Interior. Considerable progress has already been made in the work of preservation and restoration. A custodian has been appointed. The museum in the fort contains Indian relics, military buttons, bayonets, crests, badges, plates, silver and copper coins of the period, and also trophies of the Great War of 1914. A pamphlet giving the history of the fort has been published both in English and in French (*Guide to Fort Lennox . . .* and *Guide pour Fort Lennox, Canadian National Parks, 1922.*)

Fort Chambly, Chambly.

(*Cf. Eoc. cit., p.* DE.) Built in the fall of 1687 by Gédéon massive walls from further disintegration; and the cemetery is also being taken care of. A museum containing articles of interest has been added to the fort, and a pamphlet giving extensive information has been issued by the Department (*Guide to Fort Chambly, Canadian National Parks, 1922.*)

Fort Laprairie (Laprairie, Quebec).

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 45.) Built in the fall of 1687 by Gédéon de Catalogne, it was the scene of an unsuccessful attack by the New England Militia during the nights of August 10 and 11, 1691. The old fort was a refuge for the inhabitants dur- the wars of 1687-1713, during which period a garrison was maintained. It is proposed to erect a monument and tablet in a public park known as Foch Square.

Lacolle.

Site of an old wooden blockhouse and of the Battle of Lacolle Mill, 1812. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet.

Gaspé.

Site of the landing place of Jacques Cartier, in August, 1534, at Gaspé Bay. Definite proposals as to commemoration are under consideration.

Fort Remy.

A stone windmill and palisade built by Jean Millot in 1671. This site embraced Lasalle's house and was sold to the Seminary in 1673. The place was still maintained in 1744 and garrisoned until 1760. It is proposed to erect a monument and a tablet.

Fort Sorel.

It was constructed by Pierre de Saurel in 1665. It is situated at the junction of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers. A regular garrison was maintained until 1708. A monument and tablet are proposed.

Fort Longueuil.

Built in 1685, during the war with the Iroquois, it was used as a refuge for the settlers on several occasions. The fort, which was two stories high, was constructed of stone, flanked by four solid towers, with a guard house and many large detached buildings. It was occupied by the Americans in 1775, burnt in 1792, and demolished in 1810. A tablet is to be placed on the outer wall of the church which occupies a portion of the original site.

Fort Gentilly.

Situated above Lachine, opposite Dorval Island; erected in 1674 and garrisoned until 1689; used as a depot and camp by the British troops during the war of 1812-1815. Monument and tablet proposed.

Fort Cuillerier.

Situated below Lachine; built in 1676 (surrounded with palisades), by Réné Cuillerier, and in use for thirty years. A strong fort, a powder magazine and military stores were erected by the British authorities about the end of the eighteenth century, and proved useful in the war of 1812-1815. Monument and tablet proposed.

Fort Rolland (near Lachine)

Erected in 1670 by François le Noir dit Rolland; garrisoned at the time of the Lachine massacre, in 1689, and until 1705; still in existence in 1744. The site is situated in a small park. Monument and tablet proposed.

Fort Verdun (near Montreal)

Fortifications built by Zacharie Dupuy, in 1662; utilized as a protection for the shore along Lake St. Louis, and for Montreal; military camps were stationed here in 1688, 1689. It is proposed to erect a monument and tablet.

Fort Senneville

Situated on the extremity of the Island of Montreal, commanding Lake of Two Mountains; a windmill of stone built in 1686 by Sieur de Senneville. Six years later a fort was erected which rendered valuable service during the wars of 1692—1714. The ruins are still in a fair state of preservation.

Fort Charlesbourg Royal (Cap Rouge)

Built in 1541 by Jacques Cartier, who wintered there before returning to France in the next year; occupied during the winters of 1542—1544 by Roberval; abandoned in 1545. Monument and tablet recommended.

Arbre-à-la-Croix (near Cap Madeleine)

House with fortifications built by Jacques Hertel in 1644 as a protection against the Iroquois. It served as a refuge for the inhabitants and travellers. It was destroyed by the Indians in 1651. The site is located in an open field. Cairn and tablet proposed.

Tadoussac

Well-known in the early French régime as a fur trade centre for the Montagnais. The erection of a tablet has been proposed.

Battle of Rivière-des-Prairies

Site of the Battle of July 2, 1690, at Coulée Groulx, between the French and the Iroquois. Monument and tablet proposed.

Battle of Eccles Hill (County Missisquoi)

Site of the Battle of May 25, 1870, between the Fenian invaders and the Canadian Volunteers and Home Guards. A monument has already been erected four miles from Frelighsburg by the Dominion Government in commemoration of this event.

Du Lhut's Birthplace, Montreal

Site of Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut's residence (corner of St. Paul Street and Place Jacques-Cartier, Montreal), who died on Feb. 25, 1710. Du Lhut was an explorer of the Upper Mississippi after whom the city of Duluth was named. A marble tablet has already been placed on the building at the corner of the above streets, in commemoration of his services to his country.

The Three Rivers Massacre

Site of the massacre of the Governor of Three Rivers and twenty-two men by the Iroquois on the outskirts of the town, on August 19, 1632. It is proposed to erect a monument and a tablet.

Three Rivers Platon and Fort

Built in 1634, it was several times attacked by the Iroquois from 1641 to 1660. It was demolished in 1668. The Custom House and Post Office building now stand on its former location. A tablet will be placed on the walls.

Fort St. John

Situated near the village of St. Jean. Constructed in 1666. Scene of the siege in 1775. Monument and tablet proposed.

Lachenaie

Near Terrebonne, in the county of L'Assomption. Raided by the Iroquois, who, in the summer of 1691, surprised and killed several settlers. Monument and tablet proposed.

EASTERN ONTARIO

Old Simcoe Building, Kingston

Where Lord Simcoe held his first Executive Council, in 1792. The present office of the Kingston *British Whig*, it has been ascertained, stands on its former site. This Company has granted the Department permission to place a commemorative tablet on the walls of their building, which will be done during next summer in connection with the anniversary celebration of the foundation of the City of Kingston.

Glengarry House

(*Cf. loc. cit.* p. 47.) Only ruins of the walls remain. A cairn with a commemorative tablet is to be erected on the site.

Glengarry Cairn

Situated on Monument Island, County of Glengarry, on the St. Lawrence River and opposite the town of Lancaster. This cairn, of conical shape, fifty-two feet high and fifty-two feet in diameter at the base, with winding outside stairs, was erected by the Highland Militia of Glengarry to commemorate the services of Sir John Colborne, who commanded Her Majesty's forces in Canada at the time of the 1837-38 Rebellion. This property has been purchased, and will be given all necessary care for its preservation.

Fort Wellington

In the town of Prescott, north of the Provincial Highway. It consists of a blockhouse, the caretaker's dwelling, and two other buildings. It was constructed in 1812-1813 as the main post for defence between Kingston and Montreal. The forces that took Ogdensburg on February 22, 1813, and the troops engaged in repelling the invasion at the Windmill, November 11-13, 1838, were assembled here. The Department of Militia and Defence has been requested to transfer its control to the Department of the Interior.

WESTERN ONTARIO

Mission of Ste. Marie II. Christian Island

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 48.) The ruins of the ancient fortifications built by the Jesuits in 1649 are to-day easily to be found, though much overgrown with trees and brush. A memorial tablet will be placed on the site and the property cleared, drained and fenced.

Port Dover (Site of the Cross) "Cliff Site"

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 49.) An artificial stone cross sixteen feet high has been erected to commemorate the occupation in the name of King Louis XIV of France of the lands of the Lake Erie region by the Sulpician priests Dollier and Galinée, on March 23, 1670. A commemorative tablet together with two plates of the *procés-verbal* and the Arms of France are to be placed on the pedestal of the cross and the site surrounded by a fence. A pamphlet on the history of the site has also been published by the Department (*The Lake Erie Cross, Port Dover, Ontario*, 1922).

Niagara Frontier

The historic sites of national significance along the Niagara front, between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, have been fairly well indicated in the past by the erection of markers or tablets. It has been decided to complete this work by the addition of the following sites:—

Chippewa

The most ancient village on the Canadian frontier, situated on the south side of Chippewa Creek in an open field near Niagara Falls. It was the scene of a desperate fight on July 5, 1814, between Canadian and American troops, with serious losses of men on both sides. A monument is being constructed by the Niagara Falls Park Commission near the main boulevard, and one of the Department's commemorative tablets will be placed on it.

Frenchman's Creek

Situated near Bridgeburg. Site of the action of November 27, 1812, between Canadian and American troops; also of the landing place of the Fenians on May 31, 1866. It is proposed to place a commemorative tablet, on a monument which is being erected by the Niagara Falls Park Commission in honour of the officers and men of the Royal Artillery, 49th Regiment and Norfolk Militia, killed in this action.

Vrooman's Battery

Situated on the left bank of the river, below Queenston. Used in the Battle of Queenston's Heights, October 13, 1812; this battery fired 112 rounds on that day. A suitable standard is being erected by the Niagara Falls Park Commission on which a commemorative tablet will be placed.

Battle of Cock's Mills

Sitated on Lyon's Creek Road about four miles east of the city of Welland. Site of the Battle of October 19, 1814, between Canadian and American troops, in which several officers and men of the 82nd, 100th and 104th Regiments and Glengarry Light Infantry were killed. A monument and tablet, enclosed by fence, will be erected on the site.

Battlefield of Fort George

Situated at the intersection of Queen Street and Lake Shore Road, outside the town of Niagara. Landing place of the

invading Americans and scene of the battle of May 27, 1813, resulting in its capture. A plot of ground on the military property at Fort Missassagua has been transferred to the Department of the Interior, and a monument and commemorative tablet will be erected.

Battlefield of Beechwoods or Beaver Dams

Situated on the Mountain Road near Thorold. Site of the action of June 24, 1813, between the invading Americans and Canadian troops, resulting in the dispersion with heavy losses of the Americans. A site has been donated, and a monument and tablet will be erected and surrounded by a fence.

Battlefield of Ridgeway

Situated at the northeast corner of the junction of Garrison and Bridge Roads, about three miles from Fort Erie. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the action of June 2, 1866, between a force of the Canadian Militia and a body of invading Fenians.

Site of Tête-du-Pont Battery

Situated on Hog Island, at the mouth of the Chippewa River. A battery was utilized here in September and October, 1814, for the defence of the Chippewa Creek line. The erection of a stone marker will eventually take place.

Weishuhn's Redoubt

Situated at the confluence of Lyon's Creek and Chippewa River near Willoughby, Ont. It was utilized in September and October, 1814, for the defence of the line of Chippewa Creek. Owing to the remote location of the site it has been decided to erect a stone marker near the Lyon's Creek Bridge.

Navy Island Shipyard

Situated on Navy Island, in the Niagara River near Chippewa. Established under the direction of the military authorities in 1761 and maintained until 1763. Three small schooners and a number of smaller crafts were built there. Owing to its inaccessibility a monument and tablet will be erected on the Niagara boulevard opposite the island.

Sault Ste. Marie (Lock Site)

Constructed by the North West Company in 1797 and destroyed in July, 1814, by the United States troops. A por-

tion of the old lock was uncovered in 1889, and later it was rebuilt of stone. A monument and tablet will be placed on the site.

Port Arthur

Several historic events worthy of commemoration—the building of the stockade by Col. Wolseley, the construction of the Red River road to Fort Garry, etc.—took place in the neighbourhood. It has been decided to erect a monument with two tablets in commemoration of these on a site dedicated by the city for the purpose.

Fort William

Site of an old Hudson's Bay Company's stone magazine, the turning of the first sods of the C.P.R. and the G.T.P., and the arrival of the first shipment of grain, in 1883, from the West. It has been decided to erect a monument with a tablet or tablets commemorating these events.

Point de Meuron, near Fort William

Situated at the foot of the rapids on the Kaministikwia River. It was a portage point for the early fur traders and explorers. Lord Selkirk's De Meuron regiment also wintered here, in 1816. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet.

Fort Nottawasaga

About four miles from the mouth of the Nottawasaga River, near Stayner. Site of a blockhouse built in 1814 and destroyed by U. S. forces, after a spirited defence, during the same year. A new fort was built in 1816 and garrisoned until 1818. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet on Wasaga Beach.

Brock's Route, Port Dover to Detroit, 1812

The several camping places along the route of General Brock's expedition to Detroit are to be suitably marked, and the following recommendations have been made in regard to the following points:

Port Stanley

At the mouth of Kettle Creek. Site of arrival of Joliet, in September, 1669; Dollier and Galinée, in April, 1670; and of the halt of Brock on his way to Amherstburg, August 9-10, 1812. A site at the junction of Bridge, Main, Joseph and Colborne Streets has been donated for the erection of a cairn and tablet.

Port Talbot

On the south side of the Talbot Road, near Wallacetown. The events to be commemorated are the foundation of the Talbot Settlement, May 21, 1803, and the halt of Brock on his way to Amherstburg, on August 10, 1812. Cairn and tablet proposed.

Brock's Creek

In the township of Aldborough, near the village of Rodney. A site for a tablet has been selected on the south side of the provincial highway west of the bridge over Brock's Creek, to commemorate the halt of Brock's expedition at the mouth of the Creek, August 11, 1812.

Brock's Tree

Near Rondeau. Site of Brock's encampment August 11, 1812. The tree itself has been destroyed by the encroachment of the lake, but a site has been selected for the erection of a tablet at the intersection of the main highway leading to the Erie Beach and the principal street of that village.

Point Pelee

Dollier's expedition in April, 1670, here met with disaster. It is also the site of the defeat of the Royal American Regiment, May 28, 1763; of the encampment of Brock's force, August 12, 1812; and the Battle of Pelee Island, in March, 1838. A memorial tablet will be erected in the vicinity of the "Carrying Place" near the new pavilion within the present park reserve.

Sandwich

Brock's force collected at the McKee farm, August 16, 1812, to attack Detroit, which surrendered the following day. A suitable site for a tablet has been selected at the northeast corner of Mill and Russell Streets.

Battle of Moraviantown

On the Provincial Highway, near Thamesville. Site of the settlement founded by David Zeisberger, May 2, 1792. Village burned by enemy forces, October 6, 1813. It is proposed to place a tablet on the existing monument erected by the Kent Historical Society.

Battle of the Longwoods

On the south side of the Provincial Highway, about four miles east of Wardsville. Site of the Battle of March 4, 1814. A monument and tablet are proposed.

Turkey Point

About three miles east of Port Rowan. The events to be commemorated here are the encampment of Dollier and Galinée, in March, 1670; the passage of Major Gladwin and Sir Wm. Johnson, in 1761, to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. It was a British post in the war of 1812-1814; and Brock camped here August 8, 1812. A site for a monument and tablet has been selected.

Glengarry Landing

Situated between Minesing and Edenvale. Lieut.-Col. Robert McDougall built the flotilla of boats for the relief of the British garrison at Fort Mackinac in May, 1814. Owing to its remote location, permission has been secured for the erection of a suitably inscribed stone marker near Edenvale Bridge, on the main road.

Fort St. Joe

On the east end of St. Joseph's Island, on St. Mary's River, near Richard's Landing. Occupied as a military and trading post, 1796-1813. The force under Captain Charles Roberts which took Mackinac assembled here in July, 1812. The fort was dismantled and evacuated in 1813. Cairn and tablet proposed.

WESTERN CANADA

Northwest Rebellion

The following sites connected with the Rebellion of 1885 have been recommended to the Board and steps are being taken to secure the necessary historic data:

Battle of Fish Creek, Sask.

Site of the Battle of April 24, 1885, between Riel's army and the forces under General Middleton. It is situated in a ravine on Section 23, Township 41, Range 2, West of the 3rd Meridian, about 10 miles from Batoche. Legal subdivision 15 was withdrawn from the control of the Dominion Lands Act in January, 1922, and transferred to Department of the

Interior. It is reported that the ruins of a cairn of prairie boulders with the names of the fallen, erected by the soldiers at the time of the burial of their comrades, are still to be seen. Steps are being taken for its preservation.

Frog Lake Massacre, Sask.

Situated about thirty miles from Fort Pitt, and about ten miles north of the Saskatchewan River. A Hudson's Bay Company's post and a Roman Catholic mission were established here. The Indians under chief Big Bear refused to accept a Government treaty, and at daybreak on April 2, 1885, murdered several of the inhabitants.

Batoche, Sask.

Situated at Batoche Crossing, between Prince Albert and Saskatoon. Here a sharp engagement took place May 7, 1885, resulting in the capture of the village from Riel's forces by a detachment of four hundred and fifty men under General Middleton. Riel escaped, but was taken prisoner a couple of days after the battle.

Duck Lake, Sask.

About five miles northwest of Batoche. Site of the Battle of March 26, 1885, between a small force under Major Crozier and a party of rebels under Gabriel Dumont. The short fight that followed was almost a massacre, and Major Crozier was forced to withdraw his men to Fort Carleton.

Clark's Crossing, now Clarkboro, Sask.

Situated about nine miles from Saskatoon. Was of great strategic importance during the Rebellion as a base for operations, depot for supplies and headquarters for reinforcements. It was also on the main trail to Battleford and the telegraph line to the west.

Cut Knife Hill, Sask.

Situated about thirty miles from Battleford. Site of the encounter of May 2, 1885, between a flying column under Colonel Otter and Poundmaker's Indians, the result of which was to compel Col. Otter to withdraw his force to Battleford.

Battleford, Sask.

Headquarters of the Royal North West Mounted Police and first seat of Government of the Northwest Territories. It was besieged during the Rebellion of 1885.

Fort Pitt, Sask.

Situated on the Saskatchewan River near Lloydminster. The old Hudson's Bay Company's post was besieged and captured by the rebels under Poundmaker, who burned it before evacuation.

Fort Prince of Wales, Man.

(*Cf. loc. cit.*, p. 50.) Situated at Churchill, Manitoba. The most northerly fortress on the American continent, built by the Hudson's Bay Company between 1733 and 1747. Destroyed by the French under La Pérouse, and never rebuilt. Within the ruined walls are 38 old guns and the remains of the factor's residence. By an Order-in-Council of February 21, 1922, an area of fifty acres on which the fort is situated at the mouth of the Churchill River was reserved for historic purposes. Two enamelled signs have been affixed on the walls of the fort.

Fort Livingstone, Man.

Situated on Section 5, Township 34, Range 32, West of the Principal Meridian, near Swan River. Old Royal North West Mounted Police post and seat of Government for the North-west Territories. The erection of a cairn and tablet on the above section has been recommended.

PUBLICITY

An extensive campaign of publicity conducted in connection with the various sites selected is being pursued, with a view to stimulating public interest and arousing national consciousness. Articles are also published semi-monthly in the departmental Bulletin. Short pamphlets are available for distribution containing a history of the sites of Fort Anne, Fort Lennox, Fort Chambly and Port Dover. Others are to be prepared and published as the work progresses.

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1923

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF MAY THE TWENTY-FOURTH AND TWENTY-FIFTH AT THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL MUSEUM, OTTAWA

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This is the first annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. Thanks to the excellent foundation laid by the organization out of which we have grown—the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada—we are in a position to build up a strong and useful national society. We have across the border a fine example of what may be achieved by means of well-directed enthusiasm and teamwork. If we can measure in any degree up to the standard of the American Historical Association we shall not have lived in vain.

But that high standard cannot be reached without serious effort. The problems with which we have to deal are similar to those upon which our American friends have been engaged. What they have accomplished we may also achieve in our smaller field; and I have not any doubt that we shall do so. All that is really needed is a worth-while objective and a determination on the part of the executive and all the members of the association to reach that objective, once it is clearly defined.

Now, what are the objects of the Canadian Historical Association? As set forth in the Constitution (which will be brought before you for consideration and approval at this meeting), they are to "encourage historical research and public interest in history; to promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past; and to publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit." Simple and unpretentious as is the language of our Constitution, here and elsewhere, it is evident that a comprehensive and ambitious programme can be built up without going outside its four corners.

The Canadian Historical Association is of course interested in all that relates to the history of our own country, but it does not necessarily confine its interest to that field, large and diversified and important as it unquestionably is. The association should, in fact, bear somewhat the same relation to provincial or local historical societies as a national library—if we were fortunate or broad-minded enough to possess one—would bear to provincial or local libraries; that is to say, its field should be all-embracing rather than limited. Its purpose is to encourage historical research in every field, here and else-

where, ancient as well as modern; and it places the broadest possible definition on history, as including not only political, military, social and economic records of the past, but also, to a greater or less extent, biography, geography and travels, folk-lore, archaeology, and ethnology.

That is not of course to say that we expect to accomplish any definite things in all these fields, but merely that we do not exclude them from our horizon; and that we welcome to our membership, and will be prepared to help in any way within our power, any one who is seriously engaged in any branch of historical work. It may be added here that we welcome to membership in the Canadian Historical Association not merely those who are actually engaged in historical research, but any man or woman who takes a sympathetic interest in the work of the association, and desires in that way to further its objects.

Since the organization meeting in May last, certain matters have come before the executive or the council for consideration. One of these, the question of preparing a series of outline lectures on various phases of Canadian history, is dealt with elsewhere. We hope that when the scheme has been mapped out—the first step obviously being to make a survey of the available material for lantern slides and other illustrative equipment—the members of the association will be prepared to aid in the preparation of the skeleton lectures.

A most appropriate memorial to David Thompson, the western explorer, was opened on the last days of August, 1922, with equally appropriate ceremonies. The memorial, which takes the form of a reproduction of a typical fur-trading fort of Thompson's day, stands on the shores of Lake Windermere, in the valley of the Columbia, not far from the spot where the explorer, in 1807, built his first post west of the mountains. The suggestion was made by one of the officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which was largely responsible for the memorial, that the title to Fort Kootenay—as it has been called—should be vested in this association, and that we might undertake the responsibility of maintaining it as a museum of western history and the fur trade. On further consideration, however, it seemed advisable to put the management of the fort in the hands of the local authorities at Windermere, who were keenly interested in it, and could be relied upon to maintain it in a satisfactory manner.

While those in charge of the Windermere Memorial Fund did not find it practicable—as mentioned in last year's report—to put aside a certain amount for the erection of a suitably inscribed stone over David Thompson's grave in Mount Royal Cemetery, the matter has not been dropped. A memorial meeting was held in Montreal on the same day that Fort Kootenay was opened, and there is reason to believe that before long we shall be able to remove the reproach

against the people of Canada that they have allowed one of their greatest explorers to lie in an unmarked and practically unknown grave.

A statue was unveiled at Quebec on September 28 last, to the memory of Pierre Gaultier de La Vérendrye, who devoted a lifetime to western exploration and particularly to the discovery of an overland route to the Pacific. In this as in some other directions the Government of Quebec has set a praiseworthy example to the other provinces. The suggestion has beeen made to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board that a stone shaft or cairn be placed in Three Rivers to mark the birthplace of La Vérendrye.

The question of suitably marking the landfall of Jacques Cartier, which, as mentioned in last year's report, had been brought to the attention of the Dominion Government through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, is still under consideration, but there is reason to hope that favourable action will be taken before long.

A suggestion also came before the council last year for the utilization of portions of the old well of the Recollet Monastery at Brouage in the erection of a monument on the Gaspé shore. The matter was referred to the Quebec Monuments Commission for their consideration.

As a representative of the association, I had the pleasure of taking part, on the 12th of this month, in the unveiling of a memorial at Quebec to the memory of the first of Quebec pilots, Abraham Martin, after whom the famous Plains were named.

Dr. Coyne and several other members represented the Association at the dedication at Port Dover in July last of the memorial to the explorers of Lake Erie, Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhant de Galinée.

In December I attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, at New Haven, and conveyed to them a message of good will, expressing also the hope that the two national organizations might find opportunities of friendly co-operation in promotiong the interests they both have at heart.

An International Congress on the History of America was held in September, 1922, at Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Doughty, a member of our council, represented the association. The association was also represented at the International Historical Congress at Brussels in April, 1923.

The attention of the association having been brought to the fact that "The Priory," an historic building at Guelph, associated with the Canada Company, was rapidly falling into decay, the possibility of restoring or preserving this interesting relic of Upper Canada was taken up with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and early consideration was promised.

Another matter which has been the subject of correspondence between this association and the British Columbia Historical Association and others, is the protection and preservation of certain remarkable Indian petroglyphs near Nanaimo. The latest information we have is that the company on whose land these prehistoric pictures stand has undertaken to take charge of their conservation.

The situation at Nanaimo suggests the desirability of the Canadian Government being urged to adopt some such policy as that of the United States Government, in withdrawing from settlement and turning into reservations areas containing prehistoric or Indian memorials.

Your executive has taken up with the Canadian Authors Association the desirability of these two national bodies joining with others in some appropriate celebration of the centenary of the birth of Francis Parkman, on September 16 next.

The British Columbia Historical Association reports that at its last meeting it passed a resolution urging the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to consider the erection of two monuments, one at Nootka sound, and the other at the spot where Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific on his memorable overland journey.

A matter to which the association should give some consideration is the desirability, or otherwise, of bringing about some such relationship between the Canadian Historical Association and one or more of the Canadian historical periodicals as exists between the American Historical Association and the American Historical Review.

It may be noted as a gratifying sign of the times that to-day three of the colleges of the United States are offering regular courses in Canadian history.

In last year's report we noted the establishment of the Quebec Historic Monuments Commission. We have now the pleasure of recording the organization of a British Columbia Historical Association, and provision by the Government of Ontario for an historical survey of the province.

A group of students of the Montreal High School, during the past winter, put on a very successful Canadian historical masque, written by Miss J. F. Baillie, one of their teachers. The masque was presented under the auspices of the association, and it is understood that Miss Baillie intends to publish it, so that it may be available for similar presentation elsewhere throughout the country.

Something has been said already about various historical memorials in different parts of Canada, established within the last year or two. It seems appropriate that this association should recognize the fine public spirit shown by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, in promoting and meeting the cost of several of these memorials. The two companies joined in the

expense of the Thompson Memorial at Windermere. The Hudson's Bay Company also put a memorial stone, with a suitable inscription, over the grave of Simon Fraser; and among other things has undertaken to keep the old Stone Fort at Winnipeg in repair and maintain it as an historical museum. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has paid for the Abraham Martin memorial; and we must also thank them for the appropriate Acadian memorial at Grand Pré.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC LANDMARKS

The Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks gratefully records the outstanding event of the past season, the fruit of repeated appeals since 1915. On August 30, 1922, at Windermere, B.C., the splendid achievements of David Thompson, as explorer and surveyor, were at last recognized. At the place where in 1807 he wintered and built Fort Kootenay, the first trading post on the waters of the Columbia, a representative group of Canadians and Americans gathered to do honour to the memory of one of the greatest of western pathfinders. The commemorative ceremonies took place in and about a memorial fort, erected through the generosity of two great Canadian corporations, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Another historic event took place in September of the previous year, when in the old Roman Catholic cemetery of St. Andrews West, near Cornwall, Ontario, a monument was erected over the grave of Simon Fraser, bearing the following inscription:—

> "In memory of Simon Fraser, explorer, born 1776, died, 1862. While in the employ of the North West Company he conducted important exploration and pioneer work, principally in the area now known as British Columbia, which he helped to secure for the British. He led the first exploring expedition to descend the great river which bears his name, reaching the Gulf of Georgia on July 2nd, 1808. This monument was erected in 1921, by the Hudson's Bay Company."

An even earlier Canadian explorer, Pierre Gaultier de La Vérendrye, has also had some belated recognition in his native country within the last few years. A stone with an appropriate inscription marks the spot where he was born, in the town of Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence. The province of Manitoba, which he was first to explore and where he built several trading posts between 1730 and 1740, placed a memorial statue of La Vérendrye in front of the new Parliament Buildings at Winnipeg in 1920; and in September, 1922, the province of Quebec erected a statue to the same great explorer in front of the Parliament Buildings at Quebec. These statues, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, do not pretend to represent the actual appearance of La Vérendrye, as no portrait of the explorer is known to exist.

The attention of the committee has been drawn to some historic landmarks in Winnipeg and vicinity, including the site of Fort Douglas, built in 1813 by the Earl of Selkirk, founder of the Red River Settlement. This fort stood about a mile below the confluence of

the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the south side of Point Douglas. The site is now within the boundaries of the city of Winnipeg, at the foot of George street.

Another site that has waited long to be marked in some way is that of Fort La Bosse, an old North West Company post near Virden, Manitoba. It is reported that the site has been disfigured by digging a gravel pit in the midst of it, but there is still room for a tablet.

An appeal was received to mark the grave of Peguis, in St. Peter's churchyard at Dynevor. Peguis was a Saulteux chief, whose word was law for sixty years among the red men of the Great Lone Land. Peguis rendered in the west even more signal service to the whites than did Brant and Tecumseh in the Canadian east.

The committee wish to draw attention to the fact that the Selkirk Memorial and surroundings at Seven Oaks are showing signs of neglect. The people of Winnipeg owe it to themselves to see that these landmarks are properly cared for.

ADDENDA IN CONNECTION WITH THE DAVID THOMPSON LANDMARKS

Cf. *Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. V (1909-1910), pp. xviii, xix.

The Committee formed last year to consider the matter of a memorial to David Thompson, the astronomer, Messrs. J. B. Tyrrell, Dr. Wilfred Campbell and James White, were allowed until next year to present their report.

Also Vol. VI, February 27, 1912. The David Thompson Statue: Letter to R. L. Borden, Premier of Canada:—

"SIR,—This Committee consists of J. B. Tyrrell, F.R.G.S., etc., Wilfred Campbell, LL.D., F.R.S.C., James White, F.R.G.S., and Sir Edmund Walker, appointed by the Royal Society to endeavour to erect a monument or statue to David Thompson, who was not only one of the greatest geographers that the British race has produced, but also the foremost pioneer in the opening up of Western Canada in the civilized world. A poor orphan from a Charity School in London, he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at 14 years of age, at 19 at Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan river (1789). For 23 years he surveyed the main rivers, lakes and mountains from Lake Huron westward to the Pacific Ocean and from mouth of the Columbia river northward to Lake Athabasca. For this no remuneration except his pay as an ordinary fur-trader. In the fall of 1812 he settled near Montreal and made a great map of North Western America which has furnished the basis of every map since. In 1816 he was appointed by the British Government as astronomer to survey the Boundary Line between the United States and Canada; he was ten years on this work, known at Washington and London as

'the Thompson Maps.' His Journals of 43 MSS volumes are in the vaults of the Crown Lands Department at Toronto (preserved by late Andrew Russell, Assistant Commissioner). $10,000 amount required, $5,000 asked from the Dominion Government. To be erected either in Ottawa the Capital City of the Dominion, or in Winnipeg or some of the cities of the West in the country where Thompson spent the most active and vigorous part of his life."

See also *The Historical Landmarks Association of Canada, Annual Report,* 1917, pp. 45-6; 1919, p. 36; 1920, p. 15.

Mrs. J. B. Simpson,
Ottawa.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 24, 1923

Receipts—

Balance in the Bank of Montreal, April 30, 1922	$ 358 09
Annual and Life subscriptions	475 99
Bank interest	8 46
	$ 842 54

Expenditures—

Printing (circular letters and constitution)	$ 76 14
Postage and sundries	49 07
Secretary-treasurer's remuneration and expenses	200 00
Towards expenses of delegate to the Thompson Celebration at Windermere, B.C.	100 00
Expenses of delegate to the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association at New Haven, Conn.	50 00
Balance in the Bank of Montreal, May 24, 1923	367 33
	$ 842 54

C. M. BARBEAU,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct:
JAS. F. CUNNINGHAM,
Auditor.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

(C. MARIUS BARBEAU)

The annual meeting of the association was held in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, on the evening of May 24, and at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. of May 25.

On the evening of May 24 before a large audience the popular addresses were given by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, the president of the association, on "The North West Company," and Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, on "Francis Parkman."

The members present and the affiliated societies represented were: Professor Archibald MacMechan, Mr. Diamond Jenness, Mr. G. E. Wilson, Professor Chester Martin (representing the Manitoba

Historical Society), Professor Wm. H. Atherton, Mr. John Wallace (representing the Wentworth Historical Society), Major J. Plimsoll Edwards (representing the Nova Scotia Historical Society), Mrs. J. M. Somerville, Mrs. J. B. Simpson (representing the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa), Mrs. E. J. Thompson (representing the Niagara Historical Society), Mr. Pemberton Smith (representing the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal), Professor Chester W. New, Mrs. E. F. Colson (representing the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire), Professor Basil Williams, Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, Hon. F. W. Howay (representing the British Columbia Historical Association), Dr. James H. Coyne (representing the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute), Mr. J. F. Kenney, M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère, Mr. R. C. Bowen, Mr. A. R. M. Lower, Dr. J. C. Webster, Mr. James White, Mr. Francis J. Audet, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Mr. D. B. Dowling, Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, Mr. H. R. Holmden, Mr. C. Marius Barbeau and others.

At the morning and afternoon meetings of May 25, various matters relating to the activities of the association were discussed, and the addresses and papers read were the following:—

Professor Archibald MacMechan, on "How history should be taught in our schools;"

Mr. Diamond Jenness, on "Two monuments in Arctic Canada;"

Dr. D. B. Dowling, on "Rocky Mountain House and other early posts near the foothills of the Rocky mountains;"

Mr. C. Marius Barbeau, on "Port Simpson;"

Mr. Pemberton Smith, on "The passing of the sailing ship at Quebec;"

M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère, on "Lafontaine, Rolph et Papineau; épisodes de 1838 et de 1843;"

Judge F. W. Howay, on "The Spanish discovery of British Columbia in 1774;"

Mr. James White, on "Historic aspects of the Labrador boundary question;"

Dr. J. C. Webster, on "Methods of teaching history."

The Report of the Treasurer was presented, and adopted on the motion of Major J. Plimsoll Edwards.

The Report of the Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks was presented, and its adoption was moved by Mr. Pemberton Smith, the chairman.

After the new Constitution was read the final adoption of its clauses was moved by Pemberton Smith, and seconded by Archibald MacMechan and Wm. H. Atherton.

Mr. John Wallace, as representative of the Wentworth Historical Society, brought forward a motion urging the association to help

in insuring the preservation of Burlington Heights, on the Niagara peninsula, as a national park. The following memorandum was appended to the motion:—

The Burlington Heights

The matter which I wish to bring to the notice of the association concerns a movement in the city of Hamilton to-day with regard to the preservation and purchase of the Burlington Heights, one of the most interesting historic spots in the Dominion of Canada.

Geology plays a part in the making of the history of any war, but I have no intention of enlarging upon that particular phase of geology in relation to history. We would like to draw attention to the fact that had it not been for this peculiar narrow neck of land, about two miles long, a quarter of a mile wide and over a hundred feet high, the battle of Stoney Creek would never have been fought. The strategy of the war of 1812-14 would have been different. It was due to the military strength of this position in those days that the Niagara peninsula is still under the Union Jack.

Up to 1856 the Burlington Heights were part of the British Admiralty lands abroad, and Downing Street then turned these lands (178 acres—see Statutes of Canada, 1859) over to Canada, but they have, unfortunately, with the exception of two lots, been alienated. The two lots preserved are the Old Military Cemetery, in which we believe are the bodies of British soldiers, Americans who were shot as spies, and between 700 and 900 Irish emigrants who died on the wharves and around Dundas of ship fever (which takes us back to the days of the terrible Irish Famine).

The Wentworth Historical Society has been doing everything possible to have the remaining small part of the original rampart, erected in 1812, reserved for all time. Part of it is now in the possession of a Hamilton citizen, who has proposed to put a mausoleum there. The property adjoining the cemetery is owned by the Armstrong Supply Company whose activities are now invading the edge of the cemetery. Many parts have fallen in and only last week the last of the original markers fell in, due to the erosion caused by the gravel digging.

The Society of which I am a member is strongly of the opinion that the Burlington Heights should be a National and Historic Park. I trust that this association will take some action in the matter.—*John Wallace.*

The motion was followed by discussion and further elucidation, in which Mr. Pemberton Smith and Professor W. H. Atherton took part.

Professor MacMechan's address on "How history should be taught in our schools," was followed by an interesting discussion in which participated Mrs. E. J. Thompson, Professor Chester W. New, Dr. J. C. Webster, Professor Chester Martin, Mr. J. F. Kenney, Dr. James Coyne, Brigadier-General Cruikshank, and Mr. L. J. Burpee.

Mrs. E. J. Thompson stated that, in her opinion, "children should first be taught the history of their own locality and province and thus be brought to feel the importance of the history of the whole Dominion. If children are shown the places of historical interest in their own neighbourhood, they become conscious of the fact that they are part of its history;" and the speaker added, "For the past twenty years I have tried to impress this point on various educational associations."

Dr. J. C. Webster then developed the following ideas: Canadian history as taught in our schools is dreary drudgery; the school books are uninteresting, devoid of illustrations of any kind. European schools in that respect are far better equipped than we are. Ocular demonstration through wall pictures, according to a French authority, is the greatest influence in the development of a love of country and a knowledge of its history. Moving pictures and lantern slides are equally important. The speaker emphasized the point of how ignorant the people of Canada are of their own historic sites and how indifferent to their history as a whole. For seven years he had himself experimented with various methods of teaching history in the schools of the Maritime Provinces and his campaign had produced valuable results. The Secretary of State for Canada, the Dominion Archives, the Department of the Interior, and the Canadian Historical Association have decided to collaborate in a scheme to provide illustrations for the teaching of Canadian history. Slides, skeleton lectures and other materials will soon be available free of charge for educational purposes.

Dr. Chester W. New supported Professor MacMechan's proposal for an historical atlas, stating, "The Canadian Historical Association should give its hearty support to everything that would make the study of Canadian history in the schools more interesting. It was the experience of probably every teacher of history in Canadian universities that fully seventy-five per cent of every freshman class had acquired a profound distaste for history in general and a special hatred for Canadian history in particular. There was something very wrong somewhere, and the association might be able to get under some of the difficulties in bringing about appropriate reforms. If the plan for the atlas successfully developed the association would probably

have also to see that it was introduced in the schools. Teachers must be encouraged to use supplementary material of this sort. It is our hope that some day a good source book of Canadian history may be prepared for use in the schools."

Professor Chester Martin commended the new educational scheme as expounded by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, the president of the association, and by Dr. J. C. Webster, its originator. Enthusiasm for the study of history as it exists in the universities is lacking in the lower schools. What is the use of speaking of Gothic architecture without illustrations to children who know only grain elevators. History must be "put over," according to the American term, otherwise it is of no use. The West will gladly cooperate in any enterprise that will make the teaching of history in the schools more effective and successful.

The resolution was then moved by Professor Archibald MacMechan and seconded by Dr. J. C. Webster, Professor Chester Martin and Mr. Pemberton Smith—That the incoming executive of the association be requested to make an estimate of costs for publishing an album or atlas illustrating the history of Canada, both French and English, to be used as a school-book, with a view to approaching the Government and obtaining its financial support; also the executive should remain actively interested in the scheme of the Dominion Archives to prepare lantern slides on the history of Canada for educational purposes.

The question of totem-pole villages and the destruction of ancient aboriginal art on the northwest coast was then introduced through a letter received from Mr. Harlan I. Smith, the archæologist of the Victoria Memorial Museum. In the course of the discussion Mr. J. B. Harkin stated that the conservation of native art and relics should be of deep concern. Recently it was reported that the picturesque Alert Bay totem poles were to be cut down and sold. There is no doubt that the question of saving native art from total destruction will soon have to be faced. The Departments of Mines and Indian Affairs had recently appointed a committee to report on the matter. Mr. C. M. Barbeau added that since 1915, to his own knowledge, two former totem-pole villages of the Tsimshian had ceased to exist—those of Port Simpson and Ayaensh, between the Nass and Skeena rivers; and others were threatened. Misguided religious revivals among the natives and fanatical mob crazes were to blame. A motion was passed unanimously supporting the committee of the Department of Mines and of Indian Affairs in every effort to prevent further intentional destruction of totem poles and to devise some means for their preservation.

Moved by J. F. Kenney and seconded by C. M. Barbeau—That the thanks of the Canadian Historical Association be conveyed to the

Department of the Interior, Parks Branch, for the publication of the Annual Report of the Association for 1922.

Moved by Mrs. J. M. Somerville and seconded by Mrs. E. J. Thompson—That this association wishes to record its deep sorrow at the death of Mr. George Durnford, and desires to convey its sympathies to the bereaved family. Mr. Durnford was the charter treasurer of this association at the time when it was known by its former name, The Historic Landmarks Association. He came of a family of interest to the people of Ottawa: his grandfather, Colonel Durnford (afterwards General Durnford), was the Royal Engineer in charge of public works in Canada at the time that John By built the Rideau canal; and Colonel Durnford came up to Ottawa several times to inspect the work while it was in progress.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Moved by F. W. Howay and seconded by Archibald MacMechan —That Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee be elected as president of the Canadian Historical Association.

Moved by J. C. Webster and seconded by Chester Martin—That Mr. Pemberton Smith be elected vice-president of the association. Mr. Smith retired in favour of the former vice-president, Mr. W. D. Lighthall.

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by F. W. Howay—That C.-M. Barbeau be elected to the office of secretary-treasurer.

Moved by Chester Martin and seconded by J. Plimsoll Edwards —That Mr. J. F. Kenney be elected to the office of editor.

Moved by Chester W. New and seconded by Mrs. E. F. Colson —That Professor G. M. Wrong, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, Judge F. W. Howay, Dr. A. G. Doughty, and Professors Archibald MacMechan and Chester Martin be elected as members of the council.

Moved by J. C. Webster and seconded by James H. Coyne—That Mr. Pemberton Smith, M. Æ. Fauteux, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Mrs. Simpson and Hon. W. R. Riddell constitute the Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks, with power to add to their numbers, the first-named to be chairman.

Moved by H. R. Holmden and seconded by Montarville Boucher de La Bruère—That Col. J. F. Cunningham be elected to the office of auditor.

Moved by Wm. H. Atherton and seconded by Mrs. J. B. Simpson —That the association desires to express its appreciation of the services of Col. J. F. Cunningham as auditor for the past year.

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by F. W. Howay—That the thanks of the association be extended to the officers for the efficient discharge of their duties in the past year.

C. MARIUS BARBEAU,
Secretary.

CONSTITUTION

I. Name

This society shall henceforth be known as The Canadian Historical Association.

II. Objects

The objects of the association shall be:

To encourage historical research and public interest in history;

To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past;

To publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

III. Membership

The association shall consist of the members of The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada together with such others, approved by the council, as may be comprised in the following classes:

Members, whose annual dues shall be $2;

Life members, whose fees shall be $50 in one payment;

Honorary or *corresponding members,* restricted to persons not resident in Canada, who shall be exempt from payment of fees;

Such *organizations* as may desire to become members, and whose annual dues shall be $5.

All fees shall become due and shall be paid upon receipt of a notification from the secretary-treasurer or someone appointed by him.

IV. Officers

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer and an editor.

The council shall consist of the officers, together with six other members.

The council shall be elected at the annual meeting, nominations to be made from the floor, individually for each officer and collectively for the other members, and voted upon by ballot.

The duties of the officers shall be those generally attached to their respective offices, together with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

An annual allowance may be made for the work of the executive officers, the amount to be fixed by the council.

V. Standing Committees

There shall be a Standing Committee to be known as The Landmarks Committee, and such other standing committees as may from time to time be created by the association at its annual meeting.

VI. Meetings

The annual meeting shall be held at a time and place to be fixed by the council.

The officers and standing committees shall report at the annual meeting on the activities of the association, and their statements may be published in an annual report.

The council may include in the programme of the annual meeting such papers or addresses as in its opinion would further the aims of the association and be of interest to the members; and it shall decide which if any of these papers or addresses are to be published in the annual report.

Special meetings may be called by the council whenever necessary.

VII. Amendments

The Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting, by two-thirds of the members present, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or received and approved by the council at least one month before the annual meeting.

HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

(This address, designed to suggest the possibilities of the scheme of skeleton or outline lectures which the Association is preparing in collaboration with the Dominion Archives, was illustrated by means of wall maps, coloured and uncoloured lantern slides, phonograph records, motion pictures and a village chorus.)

By all odds the most interesting question that has been brought before the association during the last twelve months is that of a series of illustrated skeleton lectures on different phases of Canadian history. This project originated with a member of the Association, Dr. J. C. Webster, of Shediac, New Brunswick, who discussed it with Dr. Doughty and myself. The idea, very briefly, is to have prepared outline lectures dealing with all the more important epochs or incidents in our history, each lecture to be accompanied by a series of lantern slides that would effectively illustrate it, and perhaps by other appropriate material, such as large-scale maps and diagrams, and possibly in some cases, motion pictures and phonograph records.

The scheme, so far as it has been mapped out in discussion, is not to be bound by any rigid rules. One lecture, for instance, might deal with the sieges of Quebec, or with only one of them; another with the founding of Halifax and its early history; others with the story of the Acadians, the United Empire Loyalists, the Jesuit Missionaries of New France, the Selkirk Settlement, the Canada Company, the War of 1812, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Fenian Raids, the story of Montreal, of Ottawa, Toronto or other Canadian towns, the discovery and exploration of Hudson bay, the search for an overland route to the Pacific, the story of Champlain, La Salle, Frontenac, Wolfe, Brock, Simcoe, Sir John Macdonald, Joseph Howe, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Laurier, Blake, and so forth. There are almost limitless opportunities to build up skeleton lectures on men and events that were part and parcel of the history of Canada.

The intention is that each of these skeleton lectures will be prepared by someone recognized as an authority on that particular subject; and one of the first questions that must be determined is just how far these lectures should be carried. What we must aim at is the happy medium between a bald outline and a complete lecture; between a bone-dry skeleton and a living and full-blooded organism. That, after all, is not quite so simple a question as it might appear to be. The object of these lectures is to supply teachers in public and

high schools and others who are in a position to use it, with authentic material to be moulded into any form that they may find most effective. Now it is obvious that one man might be already so well informed that only a few special hints might be needed, while another would need a good deal of help to get his subject into satisfactory shape. The thing must be flexible enough to meet a great variety of cases. It must convey sufficient, but not too much, information. But, above all, it must be authoritative. Its main justification will be that it affords an effective medium for the spreading among Canadians, and perhaps also among those who are not Canadians, of accurate information and sound interpretation in the matter of Canadian history.

As a first step, a careful survey is being made of all the available sources of illustrative material that may be converted into slides. This material will be classified, so that anyone undertaking the preparation of one of the skeleton lectures will know exactly what pictures he has at his disposal. As a matter of fact, in most cases the lectures will probably be written around the pictures, rather than the pictures fitted into the lecture. When a lecture has been completed, a number of copies of the text and an equal number of sets of the slides will be prepared, and these will be put at the disposal of those who can make effective use of them.

I had thought that, as the association will, I hope, take an active part in the preparation of these skeleton lectures, it might be worth while to attempt to give a concrete example of one of them. I am not offering this as a model form of lecture, for I am not yet clear in my own mind as to just what form these outlines should take, or as to how much should be embodied in them. It is merely a suggestion of some things that might be included in a particular lecture. Because I happen to have given a little thought and investigation to the western fur trade, I have taken as my subject the story of the North West Company. The material that I have to illustrate it has been hastily gathered together, and is very far from complete. It may, however, serve to suggest the possibilities of this side of the scheme. This material is partly in the form of slides, partly in the shape of a wall map, partly in motion pictures, and partly in phonograph records and a village chorus. These means of illustration may, in many cases, be effectively used for such a purpose.

Now anyone purposing to lecture on the North West Company would, it seems to me, make Montreal his point of departure. The North West Company was born in Montreal, and Montreal remained its headquarters until it was finally absorbed by its great rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. Although the sturdy and adventurous spirits who created this essentially Canadian body, with all it stood for in pluck and energy, trade and exploration, are to-day

almost completely forgotten, there are still some suggestive things to be seen in and about Montreal, if you go about with your eyes open. Beaver Hall Hill itself is a perpetual reminder. Here stood for many years Beaver Hall, the home of Joseph Frobisher, one of the founders of the company. Near the head of Simpson street, let into the wall of a house, is a tablet recording this as the site of the home of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, fur trader, discoverer of the Mackenzie river, and the first white man to realize the old dream of an overland route to the Pacific. Another tablet, near the foot of St. Urbain street, marks the site of the home of Alexander Henry, another of the *bourgeois* of the North West Company. And in a courtyard, on the left side of St. Gabriel street, as you go down the hill from Notre Dame, still stood, up to a few weeks ago, practically as it did a century and a quarter ago, the old warehouse of the company.

(Slides: Old Montreal)

Parkman gives us a glimpse of what Montreal was in the palmy days of the fur trade. "The Montreal of that time (1760) was a long, narrow assemblage of wooden or stone houses, one or two stories high, above which rose the peaked towers of the Seminary, the spires of three churches, the walls of four convents, with the trees of their adjacent gardens and conspicuous at the lower end, a high mound of earth, crowned by a redoubt, where a few cannon were mounted. The whole was surrounded by a shallow moat and a bastioned stone wall, made for defence against Indians, and incapable of resisting cannon." These fortifications, built by the engineer De Léry in 1723, were not removed until early in the following century. A narrow lane shows where they once stood. Many of the substantial stone buildings of the French period are still standing to-day, and, looking down one of the ancient thoroughfares toward the water front, from say the Place d'Armes, and shutting one's eyes and ears to the unattractive sights and sounds of twentieth century traffic, it is not very difficult to imagine oneself in the Montreal of the North West Company.

One who is preparing a lecture on the fur trade will, however, probably demand something more substantial than imagination to build his story upon. To get the right perspective he will need to have a pretty fair grasp of the historical background—Montreal and Canada before the conquest, and after the conquest—the political, economic and social conditions that made possible such an organization as the North West Company, and that influenced its history. This historical background he will find in the works of such men as Abbé Casgrain, Parkman, Garneau and Bibaud, De Gaspé and Peter Kalm, Wrong, Lucas, Colby and Biggar; and specifically for Montreal of the latter half of the eighteenth century, in Atherton, Bosworth, McLennan and Sandham. (I have

avoided titles and other bibliographical details, but of course these would form an important part of the skeleton lectures.)

Getting back to the North West Company, the documentary sources are both in print and manuscript. Manuscript material relating to the company is principally in the Archives at Ottawa and in the McGill University Library; also in the archives of the Montreal Court House, in the manuscript collections of the Michigan and Wisconsin Historical Societies, the Burton Collection at Detroit, and some minor sources. Much the most important material in print is Masson's "Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Ouest," which consists of original journals and narratives by members of the North West Company, gathered by Roderick McKenzie, of the company, and published by the late Senator Masson with a valuable introduction. The introduction is in French, and most of the journals in English. Other original sources in print are Alexander Mackenzie's History of the Fur Trade, in his "Voyages," and the published narratives of David Thompson, Alexander Henry, and his nephew of the same name, Harmon, Franchère, Alexander Ross and Ross Cox, all members of the North West Company. Then there are the various histories or historical studies of the fur trade, by Davidson, Bryce, Miss Laut and the present speaker. So far as the printed sources are concerned, except in one or two cases where the books have become rare, a mere reference would be sufficient in the skeleton lecture. For the manuscript sources, it will probably be found desirable to include extracts from the original documents in the outline.

Now, what shall we glean from these manuscript and printed sources, that would help a man to lecture intelligently, accurately, and, let us hope, without boring his audience? There it is that we shall find many things relating to the North West Company, to the independent traders who created the company, to the conditions of the fur trade, the character of those engaged in it, their relations with the Indians and with their trade rivals of the XY Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and various American companies, how and where they travelled, the character of their trading posts and the life they lived there, the tremendously important explorations they carried out merely as incidents of their work as fur-traders, their fisheries, modes of hunting the buffalo, trapping beaver, and a host of minor points, the relative importance of which depends a good deal upon the individual point of view.

(Wall map showing trade routes and posts)

As to the illustrative material, to begin with, this wall map of the Dominion shows in a general way the water thoroughfares of the fur trade, from Montreal westward. There were, as you will see, two routes from Montreal to lake Huron, one by way of the Ottawa river,

lake Nipissing and French river, and the other, by way of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. The former, however, was the recognized route of the Nor' Westers. The Lakes route led more particularly to Detroit, an important point in the fur trade under both French and British rule. From lake Huron the route followed the north shore of lake Huron, or the south shore of Manitoulin island; then up St. Mary's river to lake Superior, and along the north shore of that lake to its western end. There the fur-traders used, at different times, three distinct routes as far as Rainy lake, one by way of Grand Portage, the second up the Kaministikwia, and the third by Fond du Lac and the St. Louis river.

From Rainy lake, the fur-traders descended Rainy river to the lake of the Woods, and Winnipeg river to lake Winnipeg. From this great central reservoir, water routes radiated in every direction, northeast to Hudson bay, south by way of Red river to the upper Mississippi, from Red river up the Assiniboine and then overland to the Missouri, and west from the upper end of lake Winnipeg up the Saskatchewan. From Cumberland lake, on the Saskatchewan, small streams and lakes led north to Frog portage and the Churchill, west up that river to Methye portage or Portage La Locke, and down the Clearwater to the Athabaska river and the lake of the same name. From lake Athabaska, Slave river led to Great Slave lake and the Mackenzie.

Various routes were used by the fur-traders to get over the Rockies. The earliest was by way of Peace river and the Peace River pass. Others were by the Athabaska and Athabaska pass; and the Saskatchewan and Howse pass. The Peace river route connected with the Fraser river west of the mountains, and both the Athabaska and Howse routes led to the Columbia and the Kootenay. Nature, it will be seen, had given the fur-trader a marvellous system of water highways, for it is literally true that, with the exception of an occasional portage, he could and did travel by water, from lake Winnipeg, east to the Atlantic, south to the gulf of Mexico, west to the Pacific, north to the Arctic, and northeast to Hudson bay.

(Slides showing the western rivers and mountains)

Let us suppose that a certain party of fur-traders is about to start for one of the western posts. The party is in charge of a trusted officer of the North West Company. The trading goods and supplies have been loaded into a certain number of canoes, technically known as a brigade, or if it was a large expedition there might be several brigades, each of eight or ten canoes, and each brigade in charge of a guide or pilot. Each canoe carries a burden of three or four tons, and is manned by eight or nine voyageurs.

They embark at Lachine, and as the paddles dip into the water, some one starts up one of the old chansons, and the others join in.

(Canoe songs of old voyageurs reproduced on the phonograph: "A la claire fontaine," "L'aviron qui nous monte, qui nous mène.")

There are many contemporary accounts to choose from of the canoe brigades of the North West Company, and their modes of travel. They were described by Alexander Ross, by Daniel Williams Harmon (whose daughter, by the way, as some of you may remember, kept a girls' school in Ottawa some years ago), by Alexander Henry, and others. Here is the account of Peter Grant, of the North West Company, whose narrative is in the Masson collection:—

"The North West Company's canoes," he says, "seldom draw more than eighteen inches of water and go, generally, at the rate of six miles an hour in calm weather. When arrived at a portage, the bowman instantly jumps in the water, to prevent the canoe from touching the bottom, while the others tie their slings to the packages in the canoe and swing them on their backs to carry over the portage. The bowman and the steersman carry their canoe, a duty from which the middlemen are exempt. The whole is conducted with astonishing expedition, a necessary consequence of the enthusiasm which always attends their long and perilous voyages.

"It is pleasing to see them, when the weather is calm and serene, paddling in their canoes, singing in chorus their simple melodious strains and keeping exact time with their paddles, which effectually beguiles their labours. When they arrive at a rapid, the guide or foreman's business is to explore the waters previous to their running down with their canoes, and, according to the height of the water, they either lighten the canoe by taking out part of the cargo and carry it overland, or run down the whole load.

"It is astonishing to witness the dexterity with which they manage their canoes in those dangerous rapids, carrying them down like lightning on the surface of the water. The bowman, supported by the steersman, dexterously avoids the rocks and shoals which might touch the canoe and dash it to pieces, to the almost certain destruction of all on board. It often baffles their skill, when the water is very high, to avoid plunging in foaming swells on the very brink of the most tremendous precipices, yet those bold adventurers rather run this risk than lose a few hours by transporting the cargo overland.

"When they are obliged to stem the current in strong rapids, they haul up the canoe with a line, all hands pulling along shore and sometimes wading through the water up to their middle, except one man, who remains in the stern of the canoe in order to keep it in the proper channel. When the wind favours they always carry sail, and in a fresh gale will generally go eight or nine miles an hour."

(Slides showing canoe brigades)

Here is a graphic touch or two from another contemporary narrative:—

"At dawn of day they set out; the men now and then relax their arms and light their pipes, but no sooner does the headway of the canoe die away than they renew their labours and their chorus, a particular voice being ever selected to lead the song. . .

"When it is practicable to make way in the dark, four hours is the voyageurs' allowance of rest; and at time, on boisterous lakes and bold shores, they keep for days and nights together on the water, without intermission and without repose. They sing to keep time to their paddles; they sing to keep off drowsiness, caused by their fatigue; and they sing because the bourgeois likes it."

The voyageur or boatman of the North West Company formed one of the principal links between the old fur trade of the French régime and the new fur trade of British rule. He was almost invariably French Canadian, or a French half-breed, just as the partners and clerks of the company were nearly as invariably Scotch. Alexander Ross records a speech by a famous voyageur, which is an interesting revelation of the character of this now vanished type, an odd mixture of boastfulness and courage, improvidence and loyalty, endurance and recklessness and unconquerable good nature:—

"I have now," said the voyageur, "been forty-two years in this country. For twenty-four I was a light canoeman; I required but little sleep, but sometimes got less than required. No portage was too long for me; all portages were alike. My end of the canoe never touched the ground till I saw the end of it. Fifty songs a day were nothing to me. I could carry, walk, and sing with any man I ever saw. During that period I saved the lives of ten Bourgeois, and was always the favorite, because when others stopped to carry at a bad spot, and lost time, I pushed on—over rapids, over cascades, over chutes; all were the same to me. No water, no weather ever stopped the paddle or the song. I have had twelve wives in the country; and was once possessed of fifty horses, and six running dogs, trimmed in the first style. I was then like a Bourgeois, rich and happy; no Bourgeois had better-dressed wives than I; no Indian chief finer horses; no white man better harnessed or swifter dogs. I beat all Indians at the race, and no white man ever passed me in the chase. I wanted for nothing; and I spent all my earnings in the enjoyment of pleasure. Five hundred pounds, twice told, have passed through my hands; although I now have not a spare shirt to my back, nor a penny to buy one. Yet, were I young, I should glory in commencing the same career again. I would spend another half century in the same way. There is no life so happy as a voyageur's life; none so

independent; no place where a man enjoys so much variety and freedom as in the Indian country. Huzza! huzza! pour le pays sauvage!"

(Slides showing voyageurs)

The first important stopping place of the fur trader on his way west from Montreal was Michilimackinac—or Mackinaw as it is known to-day—once a very important trading centre on the straits between lakes Huron and Michigan. Jonathan Carver describes this place as it was in 1766. "A fort composed of a strong stockade, usually defended by a garrison of one hundred men. It contains about thirty houses, one of which belongs to the governor, and another to the commissary. Several traders also dwell within its fortifications." In Harmon's day, 1800, the fort had been moved from the mainland to an island about eight miles distant. "The fort," he says, "is built on a beautiful rise of ground, which is joined to the main island by a narrow neck of land... The North West Company have a house and store here." He says that the company built canoes here, for sending into the interior, and down to Montreal. Spirits were sold for six dollars a gallon at Michilimackinac—which Harmon evidently thought an outrageous price.

Alexander Henry, speaking of the old fort on the mainland, says that on the bastions were two small pieces of brass English cannon. It is probable that these guns were part of the plunder of De Troyes and Iberville, when they captured Forts Albany and Hayes, on Hudson bay, in 1686.

The next important stopping place was Fort William, at the upper end of lake Superior. One may note, however, that in passing up St. Marys river to lake Superior, the fur-traders used a small lock and canal at Sault Ste. Marie, built by the North West Company toward the end of the eighteenth century. The diminutive lock was restored a few years ago, and to-day affords a curious contrast to the huge modern locks near it, capable of accommodating great lake freighters with their cargoes of half a million bushels of grain.

As Fort William was for years the principal post of the North West Company, and the scene of that annual gathering of the partners of which Washington Irving has given such a graphic description in *Astoria,* it may be worth while to quote the description of one who knew it in its prime, Ross Cox:—

"Fort William," he says, "is the great emporium for the interior. An extensive assortment of merchandise is annually brought hither from Montreal, by large canoes, or the company's vessels on the lakes, which, in return, bring down the produce of the wintering posts to Canada, from whence it is shipped to England. A number of the partners and clerks, whose turn of rotation has not arrived for going to Montreal, assemble here every summer, and deposit the furs which they purchase during the winter, when they obtain a fresh supply

of trading goods for the ensuing season. Those on their way to Canada also remain some time previous to their final departure. In addition to these, one or two of the principle directors, and several clerks, come up every spring from Montreal to make the necessary changes, and superintend the distribution of the merchandise for the wintering parties. Fort William may, therefore, be looked upon as the metropolitan post of the interior, and its fashionable season generally continues from the latter end of May to the latter end of August. During this period, good living and festivity predominate; and the luxuries of the dinner table compensate in some degree for the long fasts and short commons experienced by those who are stationed in the remote posts. The voyageurs also enjoy their carnival, and between rum and baubles the hard-earned wages of years are often dissipated in a few weeks. . . .

"The dining hall," says Cox, "is a noble apartment, and sufficiently capacious to entertain two hundred. A finely executed bust of the late Simon McTavish is placed in it, with portraits of various proprietors....At the upper end of the hall there is a very large map of the Indian country, drawn with great accuracy by Mr. David Thompson, astronomer to the company." By the way, this famous map, brown with age, is preserved in the Provincial Archives at Toronto.

"The buildings at Fort William," continues Cox, "consist of a large house, in which the dining hall is situated, and in which the gentleman in charge resides; the council-house; a range of snug buildings for the accommodation of the people from the interior; a large counting-house; the doctor's residence; extensive stores for the merchandise and furs; a forge; various workshops, with apartments for the mechanics, a number of whom are always stationed here. There is also a prison for refractory voyageurs. The whole is surrounded by wooden fortifications, flanked by bastions, and is sufficiently strong to withstand any attack from the natives. Outside the fort is a shipyard, in which the company's vessels on the lake are built and repaired. The kitchen-garden is well stocked, and there are extensive fields of Indian corn and potatoes. There are also several head of cattle, with sheep, hogs, poultry, etc., and a few horses for domestic use...."

Leaving this busy centre of the fur trade behind, the brigade of canoes pushes its way to the westward, following the waterways already mentioned, and gradually disintegrating as some of the canoes with their cargoes of trading goods are dropped at one post or another. We may as well follow one of them, and get some idea of the life of a fur-trader at one of those remote forts on the Saskatchewan.

Here is Alexander Ross' description of the landing at a river post:—

"When about to arrive at the place of their destination, the voyageurs dress with neatness, put on their plumes, and a chosen song is raised. They push up against the beach, as if they meant to dash the canoe into splinters; but most adroitly back their paddles at the right moment, whilst the foreman springs on shore and, seizing the prow, arrests the vessel in its course. Every person advances to the waterside and guns are fired to announce the bourgeois' arrival. A general shaking of hands takes place, as it often happens that people have not met for years; even the bourgeois goes through this mode of salutation with the meanest. There is, perhaps, no country where the ties of affection are more binding than here. Each addresses his comrades as his brothers; and all address themselves to the bourgeois with reverence, as if he were their father."

From the journal of another fur trader, in 1799, we get odd glimpses of his daily life. Trading between white man and Indian was a different thing to trade of white with white. There has been a good deal of criticism of the fur-traders, of their injustice to the Indians, their outrageous profits, the use they made of liquor to corrupt the natives. Sometimes these charges were justified, but as a general rule they misrepresent the situation. The evils that did creep into the fur trade were almost entirely due to the fierce rivalry that developed between the competing companies. The use of rum was a case in point. Men like David Thompson refused to have it at their posts on any terms. Others were less scrupulous, if by its use they could steal a march on a competitor. The rum that the Indian got was, in any event, usually one part rum to seven parts water.

Then in judging as to the fairness or otherwise of the fur-trader's profit, it is reasonable to take into account all the conditions. The goods that the trader exchanged for furs came from England in sailing ships to Quebec. There they were transferred to river boats and carried up to Montreal. From Montreal they were sent inland by canoe to some remote trading post. The furs obtained in exchange had to follow the same long, roundabout route to the London market. In the case of some of the most remote posts in the far northwest, it has been estimated that it took six or seven years for the company to get its return on a particular investment in trading goods. The profits were not so extravagant, therefore, as they might appear to be on the surface. And, as far as the Indian was concerned, it must be remembered that the ammunition, tobacco, fishing hooks, needles, and other commodities he purchased from the trader, were much more valuable to him than the skins he gave in exchange. Even so, he very soon learned to drive a shrewd bargain and take advantage of the competition of rival traders.

But to return to the journal of 1799. The system of credit developed in the early days of the fur trade, together with the practice of giving presents to the Indians, both of course designed to encourage them to trade at a particular fort. Thus we find here:—

"Gave credits to the Whitefish's son and *gendre* (son-in-law); they go to their lands, but promise to be back next winter. Gave the Whitefish's son, for nothing, 1 awl, 1 fire steel, 1 gun worm, 3 flints, 1 common belt, 2 horn combs, 1 hook, 1 needle and 34 fathoms rotten tobacco. . . . .

"This morning Marlin sent the English Chiefs for ammunition, tobacco, combs and vermillion. Sent him two measures ammunition, ½ fath. tobacco, 1 comb and a little vermillion mixed with flour. They arrived soon after in great pomp, in all 20 men. . . . .

"After they paid the most of their credits, amounting to 1,101 skins, Martin was clothed." That is to say, the trader officially recognized this Indian as a chief by presenting him with a ceremonial coat.

"Several harangues suitable to the occasion," continues the journal, "were made on both sides, and the new chief, with his laced coat, stalked along to his lodge, just an hour after sunset. He made many ceremonies before he accepted of the laced coat; he wished to have a red greatcoat, short breeches and cotton stockings, like the English Chief some years ago at the Old Fort; he would not be a petty chief; he aspired to be raised from nothing to the highest pitch of glory. In short, his head was already so intoxicated by his change of fortune, that he did not know which end of him stood upper-most."

(Motion pictures: historical pageant at Fort Kootenay, in 1922)

An important problem at the trading posts was, of course, that of the food supply. Very little could be brought up from Montreal, and each post had to support itself from what could be obtained in the surrounding country. Consequently the daily meals varied at different posts, in quality, quantity and variety. While those at posts on the prairie had generally an abundant supply of buffalo meat, venison and small game, the traders around Lake Superior lived upon whitefish and lake trout, those at Cumberland House on sturgeon, and west of the mountains on salmon.

But the fur-trader, inured to hardships, rarely complained of the quality of his food if the quantity was all right. Sometimes he was hard put to it to keep alive. Buffalo would be nowhere in his neighbourhood, his nets might produce nothing, his supply of pemmican or dried fish be exhausted. Then he had to fall back on the sorry expedients of the starving. Harmon, for instance, writes in his Journal for 1804: "For some time after our arrival, we subsisted on rosebuds, a kind of food neither very palatable nor nourishing, which

we gathered in the fields. They were better than nothing since they would just support life." Elsewhere he says: "For six days we subsisted at the fort on parchment skins, dogs, herbs and a few small fish." Fur-traders as well as explorers, particularly in the far north, sometimes were driven to live for days or even weeks on nothing more nourishing than *tripe de roche,* a peculiarly unpalatable lichen or moss. And yet, as we have abundant evidence, they enjoyed their life, and would not exchange it for one of comfort or even luxury in more civilized communities.

Nor, except at the smaller and more remote establishments, was the life of the fur-trader quite so uncivilized as one might suppose. Fort Chipewyan, for instance, had quite a respectable library; and at all the larger posts the number of white traders, with their wives and families, and the addition of visitors from neighbouring posts, with the occasional appearance of traders on their way down to or up from headquarters, made up a little community sufficient for most social needs. At least that was evidently the opinion of the writer of the following sketch:—

"Even in this barbarous country," he says, "woman claims and enjoys her due share of attention and regard. Her presence brightens the gloom of the solitary post; her smiles add a new charm to the pleasures of the wilderness. Nor are the ladies deficient in those accomplishments which procure admiration. Although descended from aboriginal mothers, many of the females at the different establishments throughout the Indian countries are as fair as the generality of European ladies; the mixture of blood being so many degrees removed from the savage as hardly to leave any trace, while at the same time, their delicacy of form, their light and nimble movements, and the penetrating expression of the 'bright, black eye' combine to render them objects of no ordinary interest. They have also made considerable progress in refinement, and, with their natural acuteness and singular talent for imitation, they soon acquire all the ease and gracefulness of polished life. On holidays the dresses are as gay as in longer settled countries; and on these occasions the gentleman puts on the beaver hat, the ladies make a fine show of silks and satins, and even jewellry is not wanting. It is not surprising, therefore, that the roving North Wester, after so many rural enjoyments, and a residence of twenty years, should feel more real happiness in these scenes than he can hope for in any other country."

To the fur-traders' articles of subsistence should perhaps have been added his two indispensable luxuries—tea and tobacco, both of which he liked strong. The tobacco came in long twists or ropes, and in commerce was sold by the fathom. Possibly also sufficient emphasis has not been put upon the importance of pemmican in the fur-trader's bill of fare. It was his daily bread, his staff of life.

Made from the lean meat, usually of buffalo, dried and pounded fine, mixed with melted fat, sometimes with the addition of sugar or dried berries, it was packed tightly into skin bags, and, unless exposed to moisture, would keep for years. The trader always took a supply with him on his excursions, and always tried to keep a reserve in his post for a hungry day. It was one of the most important duties of the posts in the prairie country to prepare large quantities of pemmican, which was distributed among the posts remote from the range of the buffalo, or where such substitutes as deer, bear, moose or caribou were not readily obtainable.

(Slides: animal life)

This responsibility of the prairie traders made the hunting of the buffalo a matter of duty as well as pleasure. To secure a sufficient supply of fresh meat for their own posts, and pemmican for the various establishments dependent upon them, they could not always depend upon hunting the buffalo on their fleet ponies, but resorted also to an old contrivance of the Indians called buffalo pounds. These consisted of two long lines of fences, or bushes, converging to a gateway leading into a circular enclosure. A herd of buffalo was driven down between the fences, and when they were all in the enclosure, the entrance was blocked, and the traders then shot them at their leisure. Among the Indians the practice was more ceremonial. After the herd had entered the enclosure, the principal chief would light his pipe, and, pointing it at an ancient bull that he considered to be the father or chief of the herd, would harangue him something to this effect: "My Grandfather, we are glad to see you, and happy to find that you are not come in a shameful manner, for you have brought plenty of your young men with you. Be not angry with us, we are obliged to destroy you to make ourselves live."

(The buffalo: slides and motion pictures)

Only a few words more. I have attempted to tell the story of the western fur trade, under the North West Company, mainly by means of quotations from contemporary narratives. Of course it has only been possible to touch upon a very few of the many aspects of the subject. The story of the fur trade is full of romantic incidents, dramatic moments, as well as of interludes that, while prosaic, are of interest to the student of history, of commerce, of ethnology, of natural history. In the actual skeleton lecture these other sides of the story would as far as possible or expedient be represented by references to reliable authorities.

So far as the history of the North West Company is concerned as a distinct organization, it came to an end in 1821 with the fusion of the two organizations, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Thereafter the fur trade took on a different charac-

ter, became more modern, more business like, perhaps more efficient, under the skilful guidance of Sir George Simpson. Certainly after 1821, much of the romance of the old life of the fur trader disappeared, that romance that was so appropriately illustrated in the annual meetings at Fort William. And so we may say, with Washington Irving: "The feudal state of Fort William is at an end; its council chamber is silent and desolate; its banquet hall no longer echoes to the auld world ditty; the lords of the lakes and forests have passed away."

(*Canoe and dance songs by French-Canadian voyageurs—Trefflé Bigras and family, from Gatineau Point, Wright Co., P.Q.*).

FRANCIS PARKMAN

BY

BASIL WILLIAMS[1]

The United States can claim, during the century and a half of its existence, four historians who rank among the notable historians of modern times: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman; and of these certainly not the least is the subject of this address to-night —Francis Parkman. It is most fitting that the Canadian Historical Association, at the meeting to inaugurate its new title and its more catholic activities, should devote a few minutes of its time to celebrate the centenary of Parkman's birth. And this for two reasons. In the first place a great historian is not the peculiar possession of any one country, he is the possession of the world, and the true historical student will profit from the great historian's researches and his mastery, be he English, French, Italian, German or Canadian; hence any company of learned historians, such as I now have the privilege of addressing, would naturally wish to do honour to one who has enlightened, as Parkman has enlightened, any part of our great heritage of the past. But there is a second, even more special reason why we should honour this centenary. Though not a Canadian himself, Parkman is pre-eminently the historian of Canada. Others no doubt have written histories of merit about this country, or have explored with industry and insight isolated aspects of its past; but no one has made the face of the country familiar, made living the struggles of our forefathers of both races against the forces of nature and of savage humanity, or awakened the national pride and sense of romance in the country and its history as Parkman has done in his great series. The tribute we owe him, therefore, is not merely to the great historian but also to the maker of Canada. For he may be hailed a maker of Canada in just as real a sense as we give that title to the great men of action that he for the first time revealed, in the splendour of their achievements, to Canadians and the world. Indeed those who, like Parkman, follow the precept, "Let us, therefore, praise famous men and our Fathers who begot us," inspire later generations to noble action hardly less than the famous men themselves.

Had Parkman succeeded even less completely than he did in his self-imposed task of recounting the struggle between England and France for the mastery of North America, his life and his methods of work would have been worth remembering as an example to historians and indeed to all scholars. Making up his mind as early as his college days what should be the subject of his life-work, he devoted himself thenceforward solely to preparing himself for

[1] Address delivered on the evening of May the 24th in the Auditorium of the Victoria Museum.

Francis Parkman

that work and to carrying it out with the same single-minded devotion as any cloistered saint or paladin of old undertook his life of service. It is remarkable that two of the band of American historians who illumined their country's literature during that great period of material, mental and spiritual development between the reign of Andrew Jackson and the end of the Civil War, two of these men, Prescott and Parkman, worked under physical disabilities that would have daunted men of less determined stamp. Prescott was nearly blind and with him reading was always difficult and often impossible; yet his works are a proof of the spirit with which he overcame his difficulties. Parkman's case was even worse. Added to sight so bad that he rarely could read for more than five minutes at a time, he had a mysterious nervous complaint which forbade concentration of his mind for periods appreciably longer. Indeed for some ten years of the prime of his life his general state of health was so desperate that he had almost entirely to abandon his literary labours. Between 1851 and 1865 he published nothing relating to his main theme. During this dark period, however, his energetic spirit did not allow him to remain idle, and he devoted himself to gardening, perhaps the only pursuit of which his ailing faculties were then capable. It is characteristic of him, too, that in this by-product of his energy he attained so much success that he became noted for his flowers, and he even held the chair of horticulture for a short time at his dearly loved university of Harvard.

From 1865, when by dint of carefully husbanding his faculties he was able once more to turn to the great work he had set himself to accomplish, till the very eve of his death in 1893, he went on steadily working. At intervals of from two to seven years he published seven parts of his *France and England in North America*, the concluding portion on the Conspiracy of Pontiac having been published first in 1851. By that time he had carried out his task, but still under almost incredible disadvantages. Nearly all the immense mass of material that he had to assimilate for his purpose had to be read out to him by devoted helpers, since he could not trust his eyesight for any prolonged spell of reading. For the actual work of composition he partly dictated his work, partly by an ingenious "gridiron" he had contrived he was able to write for short periods without hurting his eyes by looking at the paper. To any one who has attempted historical work requiring much research, such as Parkman required and undertook for his books, the prodigious effort of memory and still more of concentrated will needed for any sort of work under such circumstances will be perhaps faintly intelligible; but when the result of Parkman's labours with all these disadvantages is seen in the finished and well-rounded volumes of his series, the effort seems little short of marvellous. He himself, in one of his autobiographical letters, says—and we may well believe

him—"Taking the last forty years as a whole, the capacity of literary work, which during that time has fallen to my share, has, I am confident, been considerably less than a fourth part of what it would have been under normal conditions."

So much it is only fitting that one should say with regard to Parkman's special difficulties, difficulties which would make his persistence and ultimate triumph remarkable in any walk of life. This aspect of his career is an inspiration and example to us all, whatever may be our special pursuit; for, though few of us fortunately labour under the extraordinary difficulties he met so courageously, yet we all have our crosses which at times seem to make the goal unattainable, and it is just the memory of such valiant struggles against odds as fell to Parkman's lot that gives us courage to fight against lesser difficulties, maybe, and hope that stern endeavour will overcome them.

With these brief words on Parkman the man, I now turn to him as the historian, and shall attempt to see what lessons we can draw from his methods, and what judgment we should form as to the value of his accomplished work.

As to his methods: First and foremost he formed at the outset a very clear idea of what he wanted to say. At an early age, he tells us in his autobiographical sketch, he "became enamoured of the woods," the woods of his continent and all that they meant in the early history of European adventure and discovery. At the age of eighteen his fixed intention was to write the "forest drama," as he calls it, which came to its culmination in the great war resulting in the conquest of Canada. To do this effectively he realized he would have to trace back the earliest attempts of colonization by the French and their relations with the denizens of the American forest—all the wild tribes of the woods with whom they came in contact. "My theme fascinated me," he writes, "and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night." But though the romance of the woods had gripped him, he at once saw that vague images coming to him in day-dreams and at night would not enable him to write history. He must have as his basis, not only the solid facts acquired by research in records, but still more those acquired by personal experience, of the kind that would "identify him with his theme." This experience he sought perhaps in more whole-hearted fashion than any other historian has sought it since Herodotus's day. In his college vacations he used to go wandering about the hills and forests of New England, still in parts much as they might have been when the Abenakis roamed and hunted among them. He explored thoroughly all the country which he described in his Conspiracy of Pontiac. Once he carefully traced the course of Abercromby's force as it went up from Albany on its ill-fated mission to Fort Ticonderoga, and thence down lake Champlain

by the route along which Montcalm had brought his men to victory, a journey of which we see the fruits in that wonderful description of the British flotilla sailing down lake George and in the loving record of the noble Howe's last talks on the bearskin with the great colonial ranger Stark. Later, when he has left college, he undertook the arduous journey which he has recounted in the *Oregon Trail.* Realising that the wild life of the pioneer on the prairie would soon be a thing of the past, that the tracks through the forest-lands of the continent would be obliterated with the forests through which they led, that the great buffalo herds would within a comparatively short time be almost extinct, and that the few remaining tribes of Indians would not much longer retain their wild flavour—in short that all that was most characteristic of North America in the days of which he proposed to write was bound even in his lifetime to disappear;—realizing all this, he determined to see it all and live the life of the pioneer for himself while there was yet time. He was ailing when he started and no doubt made his nervous malady permanent by the hardships he underwent in his determination to carry the experiment through; but he did what he had set out to do. He was able to experience, as far as anybody could in his age, what the pioneers of New France and New England had gone through. He " hunted the buffalo on horseback, over a broken country, when without the tonic of the chase he could scarcely sit upright in the saddle." For five days he followed the trail of a tribe of Ogillallah Indians, and having caught them up after tremendous exertions, accompanied them in their wanderings for several weeks, so as to catch some faint idea of what his early Jesuit missionaries must have experienced in their endeavours to reclaim similar tribes to their Master's fold. Then, as if this was not enough, he must try, while in Rome, to catch something of the spiritual exaltation of those devoted missionaries by getting leave to spend some days in a cell of the Passionist Fathers' convent.

All these exertions and all these experiences he went through not merely in order to study what he would have to describe, but also from the belief that the historian should not be just the "pale student, glued to his desk,..whose natural fruit is that pallid and emasculate scholarship of which New England," as he puts it, "has had too many examples," but one who, having to write of vigorous life, should have tasted all the joys and hardships of vigorous life in his own person. " For the student," to quote his own words again, " there is, in its season, no better place than the saddle, and no better companion than the rifle or the oar." Indeed, when you come to look at the careers of most of the great historians of the world, Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, and in later times Gibbon, Macaulay, you will find that much of their power comes from the fact that they were men of action in politics or in the field as well as students: for as a

French statesman, and no mean historian, has said, "Ecrire l'histoire, c'est agir, et c'est pourquoi il convient que l'historien soit homme d'action."

But because he saw something more than literary research in the historian's equipment, Parkman was no mere amateur who thought that vaguely picturesque writing could take the place of solid learning. What physical obstacles there were to his studying in archives and reading the crabbed handwriting of 16th and 17th century documents I have already indicated. Fortunately he had ample means wherewith to hire copyists; he had devoted relatives who served him with their eyes and hands. Above all he had that zeal for exact knowledge and that determination to acquire it that overcame all material obstacles. He had an extraordinary flair for discovering recondite manuscripts in their most obscure recesses and with it a quiet and tactful persistence which invariably enabled him to persuade their owners to let him extract from them what he needed. In the tales that can be told about the unearthing of missing authorities few could be more romantic than those of Parkman's success in getting sight of material for his *La Salle* and *Montcalm and Wolfe*. The La Salle MSS. had been discovered by a French friend of Parkman's who refused to let any eye but his own see them, unless his heavy expenses of publishing them were assured to him. In order to secure that they should be made available to himself and the world, Parkman actually induced Congress to pay for their publication, and so secured for his account of the Mississippi adventure that richness of detail it possesses. Another precious collection of letters from Montcalm to Bourlamaque had been known to exist in France, but had been sold and, since their sale, had been entirely lost to view. To make matters worse, the names neither of seller nor of purchaser could be traced. Parkman, however, with hardly any clue to guide him, pursued his investigations like a slueth-hound, until he finally tracked them over from France to the Phillips collection in England, and was rewarded by permission to have copies taken of them.

These two incidents are characteristic of his methods of preparation for his work. In some respects indeed he reminds one of the actors who would not play the part of Othello without blacking his body all over, so exhaustive was he in his verification of the minutest points. When he has to speak of the influence of France on the history of her colony, he is not content to accept the ordinary views of French history, but he must needs make the French history of the period his own by independent researches. So it is with regard to everything related in his books. The specialist of today may perchance discover new material which may throw a different light on some of Parkman's versions of the facts, and of course everybody does not accept his judgments; but probably there are hardly any

statements of fact related by Parkman which could have been proved false from material available in his day.

Now to come to the finished product. What judgment are we to pronounce upon it? The first impression, I think, which the reader has is that his work is the work of a story-teller, not of an erudite and scholarly historian, as we have seen Parkman was. The narrative flows with so much ease, each volume forms so finished a tale in itself that one is apt to feel that it is more like some romance spun from the brain of an imaginative writer than a work of erudition representing the labour of years. If that is so, it is the highest tribute that Parkman could have wished to be paid him, for it is exactly the effect he strove to attain. He believed that history should not be a series of lucubrations intended solely for the student's shelf, but a joyous, living story, to appeal to the common man and cause him almost insensibly to realize the lessons of the past. Once, when he was reproached for criticizing a historian for taking too dignified a view of history, he replied, "Damn the dignity of history; straws are often the best material." The fact was that Parkman thought no toil, however great and prolonged, could be excessive for the writer of history in his search after the most scrupulous accuracy, but that in the finished product the least sign of this *limae labor* was an impertinent intrusion on the reader, as distracting from his attention on the main object, a representation of the past.

The most formidable criticism made against Parkman's work, both in his own lifetime and since, is that he is not fair in his presentation of the French régime in Canada and notably in his view of the Jesuits and the activity of the Roman Catholic Church generally. This criticism was strongly put forward by Parkman's contemporary and friend, the Abbé Casgrain, himself a noted writer on early Canadian history, and it was the reason why the University of Laval refused to honour him with the degree, which it was reserved for my University to grant him. Now I think it cannot be denied that Parkman had a strong prejudice against the policy of the Jesuits and also against the general system of administration in French Canada, and that he took no pains to conceal this prejudice. The savour indeed of his volume comes out very strongly in his *obiter dicta* on these matters. But in forming a judgment on this criticism we must distinguish between the facts as set forth by the chronicler and the opinions he expresses on these facts. To me it seems that in the presentation of the facts Parkman is so just and fair that he gives every opportunity to those who disagree with his point of view to form conclusions different from his own. Some writers with violent prejudices are so overcome with zeal in their cause that, whether wittingly or unconsciously, they are apt to overlook facts that militate against their preconceived opinions. But this can never

be said of Parkman. He always quite fairly gives the facts upon which anyone, with different preconceptions to his own, is at liberty to arrive at an exactly opposite conclusion. Thus in his great book on *The Jesuits in North America,* though with all his admiration for the early Jesuit missionaries he cannot restrain the expression of his contempt for many of the chief objects of their devotion, yet throughout he provides the most ardent Catholic with material for sustaining a judgment more in harmony with Catholic teaching. Personally, though I agree with Parkman's conclusions in the main, I feel often that he weakens his own case by a certain hardness of vision and want of sympathy with the exaltation of the religious enthusiast. I can understand, for example, a devout Catholic objecting to the conclusion of one of his most moving chapters: "When we see them entering, one after another, these wretched abodes of misery and darkness, and all for one sole end, the baptism of the sick and dying, *we may smile at the futility of the object,* but we must needs admire the self-sacrificing zeal with which it was pursued." If I felt secure enough in my own faith, I should not reject the history for that reason, because I should feel that the object was not futile, and that all the facts which Parkman so movingly relates only add to the glory of these heroic missionaries and of the faith that inspired them. It is my strong belief that you cannot get an historian worth reading who has not got prejudices of some sort; sometimes, as in the case of Carlyle, very violent prejudices; but if, as with Parkman, you get that fairness and scholarly accuracy in setting forth the facts, you also have in his books the antidote, if you wish it, to these very prejudices. And after all you will generally find that from the strength of the great writer's opinions, or even prejudices, comes the inspiration that makes his work live.

A more just criticism which, to my thinking, one might make on Parkman's work is that it suffers somewhat as a whole by its disjointed form of composition. He composed the last volume of the series long before he had begun the others; and *Montcalm and Wolfe* was produced before its predecessor in chronological order. The consequence is that there is a certain overlapping of interest in the volumes and the whole chain of events is not so clearly exposed as it might have been by a more systematic method. Indeed, with all Parkman's great merits, you do miss in him something of that majestic sweep over the whole period, which you find in the very greatest historians.

This defect, such as it is, is no doubt partly due to the enormous physical difficulties from which Parkman suffered, but still more to Parkman's dramatic instinct in seizing some central figure or movement round which to group all he had to say in each volume. He groaned, for example, a good deal over his last-written volume,

A Half-Century of Conflict, as he could find no striking incident or personality on which to focus interest, and put off writing it till he had finished what he cared for much more. But if we look at his work as a whole, this is a comparatively small matter, since no one can deny that essentially Parkman has succeeded in giving a gallery of the most vigorous and living pictures yet produced of Canada, from its discovery till its conquest by the English.

And what pictures they are! You know the rivers, the lakes, the forests, the clearings, the tracks and the portages and the rapids, the mission-stations and the settlements of the early days as if you had actually seen them yourself. I once had to get up the topography of Quebec for my own purposes, and in doing so relied largely on Parkman. I remember that subsequently, when I first sailed up the St. Lawrence, and came in view of the Montmorency falls, the St. Charles river and the great bluff of Quebec itself, it all seemed perfectly familiar ground to me, so vivid had been the impression given to me in Parkman's loving descriptions. And the men and women who live through his pages! Sometimes a mere sketch of a few lines—such the sketches of some of those early Jesuit Fathers, or of Jeanne Mance, or of Marie de l'Incarnation—leaves an indelible impression on your mind. Sometimes the more finished pictures, La Salle, Frontenac, Wolfe, Montcalm, stand out before you as if they were dear living men you have known in the flesh. And the unforgettable scenes he paints of the life and adventures in those early days! His Frontenac, the *grand seigneur,* suddenly seizing the hatchet at a pow-wow of his fierce Indian allies, brandishing it, and, with wild whoops, dancing the war dance with never a loss of his dignity and mastery! Or take perhaps the most beautiful of all his pictures, that of the birth-night of Montreal:—

"Maissonneuve sprang ashore and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example: and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms and stores were landed. An altar was raised on a pleasant spot near at hand; and Mdlle. Mance, with Mme. de la Peltrie, aided by her servant, Charlotte Barré, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of the beholders. Now all the company gathered before the shrine. Here stood Vimont, in the rich vestments of his office. Here were the two ladies, with their servants; Montmagny, no very willing spectator; and Maisonneuve, a warlike figure, erect and tall, his men clustering around him—soldiers, sailors, artisans, and labourers—all alike soldiers at need. They kneeled in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft; and when the rite was over, the priest turned and addressed them:—

'You are a grain of mustard seed, that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your

work is the work of God. His smile is on you and your children shall fill the land.'

"The afternoon waned; the sun sank behind the western forest, and twilight came on. Fireflies were twinkling over the darkened meadow. They caught them, tied them with threads into shining festoons and hung them before the altar, where the Host remained exposed. Then they pitched their tents, lighted their bivouac fires, stationed their guards, and lay down to rest. Such was the birth-night of Montreal."

Is this true history, or a romance of Christian chivalry? It is both.

Such are the pictures that will live as long as Canada is a country, or as long as noble deeds are counted worthy of remembrance. Noble deeds of endurance and self-sacrifice for a cause that seems worthy to the doer, these are the aspects of our history which attracted Parkman to his tale, and these are what chiefly make his series memorable. For, simple and limpid as his narrative always seems, there is a brave philosophy of life underlying it; and you will find that the quality which wins his highest praise and on which he dwells most willingly, is *Manliness*—the manliness which has made whatever is best in Canada, and which, as long as her sons possess it, will make her a greater country yet.

THE SPANISH DISCOVERY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA IN 1774

BY

F. W. HOWAY

In the eighteenth century Spain dreamed of world domination. One of the bases of this dream was the Pacific ocean, of which at that time vast portions lying both north and south of the equator were unexplored. The great island groups of the South sea were then unknown. The Philippine Islands were a Spanish possession and the coast of America, north of San Blas, was only regarded as useful in so far as it might afford some shelter or harbour of refuge for the richly-laden galleons in their voyages from those islands.

The old belief in a northwest passage remained a fundamental tenet of geography; but Spain's interest therein was more in preventing, than in aiding, its discovery. In the Spanish view no other nation had or could have any possessions in the Pacific ocean, which was regarded as a mare clausum, and hence such nations could have no reason for visiting or frequenting that immense ocean. This position was, in part at any rate, built upon the Papal Bull of Alexander VI and on the subsequent Treaty of Tordesillas. In consequence Spain looked with a jealous eye upon the western movement and vision of the seamen of England and of every other nation. At first that feeling was in combination with one of fear, for the buccaneers looted and plundered on the South American coast and thought the seizure and pillage of a Spanish galleon from Manila a fine way of singeing the Don's beard and, incidentally, of proving the virility of the reformed religion. But even after these freebooters had passed off the stage, Spain's jealousy remained in its pristine vigor and was directed against any and every country that sought to voyage to or carry on trade with any part of the Pacific ocean.

In 1774 Juan Perez was sent northward from Mexico on an expedition of discovery. This was the first voyage undertaken in that direction by the Spaniards since the days of Viscaino, one hundred and seventy years before. The underlying motive was jealousy of the Russians who from the days of Bering and Chirikof had been looking longingly across the isle-strewn Aleutian waters towards the new world. The promyshleniki had led the way in their crazy, thong-woven craft, lured by the search for the sea-otter—the animal which played the part on the coast that the beaver had in the interior of the continent. Reports of the Russian movement eastward had reached Spain; and it was known that already settlements for trade were being made in Alaska. How far southward they had extended and what the Russian intentions were in that regard were unknown, but at any rate here was a danger threatening the age-old policy of Spain. At that time San Francisco, which had been founded in

1769, marked the most northerly point of actual Spanish possession. When Perez prepared the plan of his proposed voyage, in 1773, he suggested falling in with the coast in latitude 45° or 50°; but as this was allowing the Russians too great leeway, peremptory instructions were issued to him to make his landfall at about 60° and take possession for Spain. Perez, as is well-known, failed to reach the designated latitude. His most northerly position was in Dixon entrance, about latitude 54° 40′, and he never landed nor took possession anywhere.

The foolish policy of secrecy which shrouded all of Spain's activities on this coast has robbed Juan Perez of his rightful position as the discoverer of British Columbia. The accounts of his voyage, prepared by the two friars, Crespi and Peña, who accompanied the expedition partly for this purpose, were carefully copied and transmitted to Spain and then as carefully laid away in the archives where they remained for almost one hundred and twenty years. They were published in original and in translation, by the Historical Society of Southern California, in 1891, and are already amongst the scarce and rare Americana.

It is the purpose of this paper merely to summarize the information contained in these journals so far as it relates to the British Columbian coast. When he was preparing his History of the North West Coast, Bancroft had only fragments of them. Inasmuch as they give the very first information about our Indians and our western coast they are worthy of attention even though somewhat belated in their arrival. The diary of Father Crespi is the more full; this may be accounted for by the fact that he had lived in the vicinity of San Francisco amongst the natives there, and thus his eye was the keener to notice slight differences.

On June 11, 1774, Juan Perez set sail from Monterey, in the *Santiago*. Slowly the little vessel made her way northward. Three and four miles an hour, and sometimes even less, are frequently recorded. So slow was her progress that on July 15th, when in latitude 51° 42′, a council was held, and it was determined to seek land immediately in order to renew the water supply, and then to continue the voyage to the latitude of 60° mentioned in the instructions. The following day a great wooden cross was prepared, so as to be ready for planting when possession should be taken. Fog settled down as the *Santiago* approached the coast—all the early voyagers emphasize the constant fogs in this vicinity. On the 18th it cleared and the snow-capped summits of mount San Christobal were seen about twenty leagues distant. Standing along the western coast of Queen Charlotte Islands, North island, the most northerly of the group, was sighted on the twentieth of July. Bonfires were seen on the shore. Both of the fathers complain of the fog though they say that they

could see fully three leagues. The natives also saw the ship and came out in their canoes, which Father Crespi says, were much like those "used by the natives of the channel of Santa Barbara, except that the bow and stern are not spread out like a fan." In exchange for strings of beads they gave the visitors dried fish. This was probably halibut, for, as Crespi tells us, it seemed to be cod although it was whiter.

As the canoes approached the *Santiago,* Crespi says he knew that the people were pagans for the air they sang was the same as that sung at the dances of the pagans from San Diego to Monterey. They threw feathers upon the sea, as a sign of friendship, just as Cook records of the Indians at Nootka four years later. From the description of the locality it may be concluded that these Indians came from Parry passage, or Cloak bay, as Dixon called it fourteen years later. Pena states that the men were well made, white, with long hair, and clothed in skins. He only mentions that they had iron implements in their canoes; Crespi however, adds that one of their harpoons was of iron and resembled a boarding-pike. This raises the interesting question: where was this iron obtained? The late S. A. Clarke seriously suggested that the Indians knew the art of smelting. That, of course, is utter nonsense. It may have been obtained from neighbouring tribes who had received it in trade (or by theft) from the Russians at Kodiak a thousand miles away, or, indirectly, from the Hudson's Bay Company or the French traders of the interior two or three thousand miles distant. If both these sources are regarded as too chimerical, we are thrown back on a shipwreck, which is the explanation offered by Captain Cook for his finding iron and the knowledge of iron in many of the islands discovered by him in the Pacific (see his *Third Voyage,* vol. 2, pp. 194, 240-3). Bancroft, in his History of Alaska, states on the authority of Maurelle's manuscript, *Compendio de Noticias,* that an old bayonet and pieces of other iron implements were seen amongst them, which the pilot conjectured must have belonged to the boat's crew lost in 1741 by Chirikof's vessel somewhere in these latitudes.

The Indians remained around the *Santiago* until the vessel was eight leagues from shore; then, even though a high sea was running, they set off for their homes. The Spaniards, fearing the fog and the currents of the unknown region, stood off during the night, and on the following morning, July 21, reapproached North island "in order to plant there the standard of the holy cross." Being within a mile and a half of the shore the ship was this day surrounded by about twenty-one canoes carrying some two hundred persons—men and women, boys and girls. Though they had never seen a civilized person before, the Indians, says Crespi, came alongside without the least distrust, beating their tom-toms, and making movements like

dancing. They brought to exchange: skins of the sea-otter, very well tanned and dressed; cloaks of sea-otter skins—the cutsarks of the later traders—sewn as neatly as any tailor could do; blankets of fine wool, about a yard and a half square, or as Crespi says, of the hair of animals that seemed like wool. This was probably the wool of the mountain goat, inasmuch as it is not known that the strange fleece-bearing dog had reached so far north. These blankets were ornamented with different colours, red, yellow, and black, and the weaving was so close that it seemed to have been done in a loom. These blankets must have been of the Chilkat type. They also brought mats made of cedar bark, which Crespi calls "fine palm leaves;" bunches of feathers arranged in various shapes; caps made of skins; cedar bark hats of conical shape, such as Cook describes at Nootka; wooden bowls ornamented with figures of men, animals, and birds incised or in relief; spoons of wood and of horn; and neatly made cedar boxes; some of which were almost nine feet in length, sewed with sinews at the corners, and carved or painted with various figures in the usual colours, red, yellow, and black. These they traded for ribbons, old clothing, knives, and beads. Iron articles were preferred, especially knives, and any form that had a cutting edge.

These people were clothed in skins or in a cape of woven woolen stuff covering the whole body. Their hair was long, and it fell in braids that reached to the shoulders. The friars state that the females were "as fair and rosy as any Spanish woman." Captain Cook bears witness to the same effect, speaking of the natives of Nootka Sound he says: "The whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern natives. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness." Dixon, speaking of the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands, says: "If I may judge from the few people I saw tolerably clean, these Indians are very little darker than the Europeans in general."

The women wore rings on their fingers, and bracelets of copper and iron; but they were disfigured by that strange feminine adornment, the labret, or staie. Father Crespi thus refers to it: "They wear pendent from the lower lip, which is pierced, a disk painted in colours, which appeared to be of wood, slight and curved, which makes them seem very ugly and at a little distance they appear as if the tongue was hanging out of the mouth. Easily, and with only a movement of the lip, they raise it so that it covers the mouth and part of the nose. Those of our people who saw them from a short distance said that a hole was pierced in the lower lip and the disk hung therefrom. We do not know the object of this; whether it be done to make themselves ugly, as some think; or for purpose of

ornament. I incline to the latter opinion; for, among the heathen found from San Diego to Monterey, we have noted that, when they go to visit a neighbouring village, they paint themselves in such a manner as to make themselves most ugly."

Two of the natives were induced to come on board the vessel and in exchange two sailors ventured into the canoes. The Indians, we are told, took pleasure in painting them with red ochre of a fine tint.

For about four days the slow-sailing *Santiago* strove, unsuccessfully to enter Dixon entrance. Sometimes the Spaniards were within a mile or so of the shore, and though frequently invited to land no steps were taken to launch a boat for that purpose. Day by day the friars record head winds, fog, and strong currents. In their fear of striking upon the ironbound coast they got so far out to sea that on July 24, Crespi writes: "Although since six in the morning until afternoon we had made four miles an hour we could not make out the land, and this although the horizon was very clear." Gradually the *Santiago* edged southward, still in hopes of finding some safe place where she might anchor. Each day saw her further from Dixon entrance; and thus she made her way slowly down the west coast of Queen Charlotte islands, always keeping at the distance of six or seven leagues from the shore.

The journals tell us of North cape, or cape Knox; of cape Muzon on the Alaskan side; of Dixon entrance, with its strong currents, and which they estimate to be sixteen leagues in width; of Forrester Island, lying west of cape Muzon; of the general north-west and south-east trend of Queen Charlotte islands; and of the high mountain range of San Christobal.

Regarding the origin of the Indians, a debated question ever since their day, the friars record that Juan Perez, who had spent some time in China and the Philippine islands, remarked their resemblance to the Sangleyes of those islands. The woven mats, they remark on his authority, were very similar to those of China.

Fog, so thick that they could not see the ship's length, came upon them on August 3, as they pursued their southward course. At midday the weather cleared and an observation gave them 49° 24′. Again thick fog settled upon them. So from day to day the entries show heavy winds, high seas and dense fog. On August 6, it cleared and they saw land, high and snow-crowned, at a great distance. The latitude was then 48°. This was the civilized man's first glimpse of the majestic Olympic range in the state of Washington. The currents now carried the *Santiago* northward; and on August 8, they again sighted land in 49° 05′, at a distance of about four leagues. As they drew near three small canoes came out from the shore and by gestures and signs warned them to depart.

Late that afternoon they finally anchored in a C-shaped roadstead about a league from the land. They named the spot San

Lorenzo. It has been identified from their descriptions and from Indian legend as being immediately northward of cape Estevan, the southern point of Captain Cook's Hope bay, and a few miles from the entrance of Nootka sound. Three canoes again came out and hovered around the vessel, always at about the distance of a musket shot. The Spaniards strove in vain to induce them to approach, but the occupants remained for about three hours at that safe distance constantly crying out in mournful tones. Then, no doubt feeling that they had done their duty, they departed.

The next morning some fifteen canoes, containing about one hundred men and but very few women cautiously approached the *Santiago*. Trade commenced. The Indians offered principally sea-otter skins, conical hats made of reeds, and cloth "woven of a material very like hemp," as the fathers call it, but which was in reality cedar bark. For these they accepted clothing, ribbons, and shells from the beach at Monterey. Here again "some pieces of iron and of copper and knives were seen in their possession." No cloth woven of wool or hair, such as had been observed at Queen Charlotte islands, was noticed. The natives, the fathers unite in declaring, were not as stalwart as those of Dixon entrance, nor were they as well clad. The fathers also remark that none of the women were disfigured with the hideous labret.

The long boat was launched to plant the cross and take possession; but hardly had she started on her errand when a heavy westerly gale arose. Fearful of being driven on a leeshore, Juan Perez hastily cut his cable and ran for the open sea, leaving the long boat to follow. Having rounded the point of rocks at cape Estevan and reached out three leagues into the ocean the *Santiago* lay-to and awaited the return of the long boat. It was only with much difficulty that it and its occupants were safely got on board. The fathers give no information regarding the fate of the cross; nor do we learn anything about their having obtained any water, which was the ostensible reason for attempting to make land more than a fortnight before. The Spaniards then turned the vessel's prow southward once more. The little *Santiago* stretched away for San Blas; and we could follow her no further.

It may be well to give in this connection the Indian tradition of the arrival of the Spaniards as recorded by Father Brabant, who was for many years a missionary on the west coast of Vancouver Island. "The vessel was seen far at sea from the Indian village known as Oum-mis, near what is now shown on the chart as Hole-in-the-wall. On first sighting her the Indians thought it was an immense bird, but when she came nearer and they could see people on board, the Indians thought that the vessel was some wonderful and very large canoe come back from the land of the dead with their by-gone chiefs. At

last the vessel came close to the shore, when the Indians found they were not their dead chiefs but entire strangers in colour and appearance. The Indians traded with them, and they gave the Indians iron and other articles for furs. The vessel stayed but a very short time."

It is strange that though Captain James Cook arrived at Nootka within four years thereafter and stayed for about a month, he did not learn of this Spanish visit. During that time he was constantly in touch with them, and he has left us a complete account of their habitations, implements, manners, and customs. He then obtained two silver spoons which are said to have been stolen from the Spaniards at this time. Here again we face a mystery. In none of the four accounts of the *Santiago's* voyage is there any mention of these spoons—all the printed information comes from Captain Cook. But in the manuscript journal of Martinez, to which I have already referred, the author claims to have given these spoons in the barter. It is quite unlikely that silver spoons in use on the commander's table would have been allowed to be bartered by the pilot. Cook's suggestion that they had been stolen is far more plausible. But Martinez in his journal goes on to say that in 1789 Maquinna, the chief of Nootka, recognized him as having been at Nootka in the *Santiago* fifteen years previous. Unfortunately for this story the landfall of the *Santiago* was miles distant from Friendly Cove, Maquinna's summer village; and there is no reference to him or any chief in any of the contemporary accounts. Over and above all, Maquinna never mentioned the Spaniards or Martinez so far as any of the four existing accounts of Cook's voyage shows.

All of these things seem to point to the conclusion that if Spain herself was blind to the interests of her navigators, some of them, like Martinez, were fully alive on the matter. They were prepared to claim even more than their real achievements, and were not above bolstering up their deeds by false assertions.

In the records of the voyage of the *Santiago*—and there are no less than four—no mention is made regarding the entrance we now know as the strait of Fuca. Hence we might conclude not unnaturally that that waterway was not seen by the Spaniards on this occasion. And thus we would feel buttressed by this negative induction in the opinion that Captain Barkley, of the *Imperial Eagle*, was in 1788 the first person to see the supposed strait of Juan de Fuca. But Martinez, the pilot on the *Santiago*, has seen fit to claim in his manuscript journal of 1789 that he saw this strait from the deck of the *Santiago*. As he first makes this statement after the fact of the strait's existence was well-known and after his seizure of Indian vessels had rearoused their ancient animosities, also having in mind his ever-present desire to belittle all things English, we may conclude that his memory has been eked out of his imagination.

LAFONTAINE, ROLPH ET PAPINEAU

Episodes de 1838 et de 1843

PAR

MONTARVILLE BOUCHER DE LABRUÈRE

Le trois novembre 1838, Lord Durham s'embarquait pour l'Europe avec sa famille, laissant l'administration aux mains de sir John Colborne. Il quittait le Canada et le poste de gouverneur profondément humilié d'avoir appris que l'ordonnance de son conseil spécial (28 juin), décrétant le bannissement d'un certain nombre de détenus politiques aux Bermudes, avait été désavouée par Londres.

Le noble lord n'était pas encore en haute mer que Robert Nelson pénétrait en Canada, à la tête d'un corps d'Américains et de réfugiés canadiens, prenait possession du village de Napierville, et tentait un nouveau soulèvement dans le sud du district de Montréal. Colborne marcha aussitôt contre les insurgés avec sept ou huit mille hommes, soldats, miliciens et sauvages. Au bout de huit jours, tout était rentré dans l'ordre. La vengeance des vainqueurs fut terrible. De Montréal, on put suivre leur marche à la lueur des incendies qui dévoraient les maisons, les granges, les bâtiments, des villages entiers. Les biens des particuliers furent pillés ou confisqués et vendus à l'enchère publique. Les femmes et les enfants furent abandonnés sans abris à l'approche de l'hiver, n'ayant pour partage que les horreurs du froid et de la faim. Plus tard, on dressa des échafauds ou encore on exila des insurgés vers les colonies pénales australiennes.

A la première nouvelle de la ridicule tentative de Robert Nelson, les principaux citoyens de la ville de Montréal furent arrêtés et logés en prison. On voulait terroriser ceux qui auraient pu sympathiser avec la nouvelle insurrection. La personnalité de Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine était toute désignée pour être une des premières victimes des autorités ombrageuses. De fait, son nom apparaît en tête de la liste des personnes mentionnées dans le premier mandat d'incarcération lancé et exécuté le 4 novembre 1838.

LaFontaine dépassait alors à peine trente ans d'âge. Avocat déjà recherché, il possédait une clientèle nombreuse dans la classe la plus influente du district de Montréal et, depuis 1830, il représentait le comté de Terrebonne à la législature du Bas-Canada.

A l'exemple de ses collègues de la Chambre, il s'était fait le champion des réformes administratives, réformes qui se heurtaient inutilement depuis nombre d'années à la barrière infranchissable du Conseil exécutif aussi bien que de sa créature, le Conseil législatif.

LaFontaine n'avait pas été compris dans l'arrestation en masse des chefs bas-canadiens, décrétée au début du premier mouvement insurrectionnel du mois de novembre 1837, mais il l'était cette fois-ci,

et en honorable compagnie encore, puisque au nombre de ses compagnons d'infortune figuraient entre autres: MM. Denis-Benjamin Viger, Charles Mondelet, Louis-Michel Viger, Jean-Joseph Girouard, François-M. Desrivières, Louis Coursolles, Pierre Boucher de Boucherville, Pierre Boucher de LaBruyère, et Joseph-Amable Berthelot, son associé au barreau de Montréal.

Que faire dans une prison où les détenus politiques étaient l'objet de la plus rigoureuse surveillance, où la faculté de voir toute personne du dehors leur était interdite?

Les mandats d'arrestation n'alléguant aucune offense, LaFontaine employa ses *loisirs* à écrire aux autorités judiciaires pour savoir le pourquoi des mesures extraordinaires, pour ne pas dire extrêmes, prises contre lui et ses co-détenus.

Ses lettres pressantes au shérif, aux magistrats, au procureur général d'alors, A. R. Ogden, puis au secrétaire du gouverneur, demeurèrent toutes sans réponses.

Si ces autorités gardaient ainsi le silence, c'est apparemment qu'elles ne pouvaient pas justifier leur conduite arbitraire, et alors LaFontaine s'adressa directment à Colborne.

Sa lettre, dans les circonstances, témoigne de son courage:—

" Prison de Montréal, le 3 décembre 1838.

" A Son Excellence Sir JOHN COLBORNE,

" Administrateur du Gouvernement du Bas-Canada, etc.

" SIR,

"Dans les siècles où le droit, la justice étaient des mots pour ainsi dire inconnus aux peuples, la tyrannie, quelquefois, avait au moins des bornes. Ici, au contraire, elle semble devoir durer aussi longtemps que la malice, la haine, la vengeance existeront dans le cœur de l'homme.

" Voilà, demain, un mois que j'ai été, sous votre administration et par vos employés, traîné de force dans cette prison, avec plusieurs de mes concitoyens que vous savez être également innocents. Nous sommes détenus au secret, sans avoir la liberté de communiquer avec nos familles, ni avec qui que ce soit.

" Sous un gouvernement si vanté, la plupart d'entre nous ont été emprisonnés comme des animaux errants dans les rues. C'est le résultat de la carte blanche donnée au premier venu d'arrêter qui bon lui semblait. L'immoralité qui caractérise cette violation de tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré, la liberté personnelle du citoyen, n'était comptée pour rien par les subalternes du pouvoir, voire même s'ils n'y trouvaient pas un sujet de satisfaction.

" Arrêté illégalement le 4 novembre, je suis détenu dans cette prison plus illégalement encore. Par respect pour votre situation, je dois supposer qu'il existe contre moi quelqu'accusation peut-être formulée après coup, n'importe! L'accusation de haute trahision est à l'ordre

du jour. Ce sera sans doute celle-là. Eh bien! je demande solennellement à Votre Excellence mon procès devant les tribunaux légaux et constitutionnels de mon pays. Je le demande comme un droit, car je crois qu'il en existe encore dans les lois écrites. Si je pouvais m'abaisser jusqu'à demander une faveur, encore comme telle, je solliciterais mon procès.

" Un gouvernement qui a tant de moyens à sa disposition, ne doit pas hésiter à justifier l'oppression dont ses employés prennent plaisir à accabler un simple individu, seul, isolé, sans force, si ce n'est celle de sa pensée et de sa conscience que, Dieu merci! le pouvoir ne réussira jamais à enchaîner, quoique la force physique puisse tenir son corps renfermé sous les verroux.

" Ce n'était pas assez, pour assouvir la haine et la vengeance qui ont dicté mon arrestation, de m'emprisonner moi seul, il fallait encore mieux parvenir au but proposé, celui de ma ruine et de celle de ma famille, emprisonner mon parent et associé dans l'exercice de ma profession d'avocat, seule ressource de notre existence. Il fallait par là ruiner une nombreuse clientèle qui porte ombrage. S'il en faut une preuve, entre mille autres, on la trouve dans le fait que de tous les avocats en société au barreau de Montréal nous sommes les deux seuls associés qui soyons tous deux incarcérés.

" Ce n'était pas encore assez. Il fallait, au risque même de s'exposer à violer votre parole donnée par écrit à la population du nord du district, arrêter le Dr Berthelot, de la Rivière du Chêne, dont le seul crime est d'être médecin et surtout d'être mon beau-père. C'est ce qui lui a servi de passe-port pour venir habiter vos cachots. Il ne me reste plus qu'un seul membre de ma famille en liberté. Elle trouve peut-être momentanément une protection dans son sexe.

" Si Votre Excellence me refuse mon procès ou ma liberté, et persiste à autoriser la continuation de notre emprisonnement, à vous, Sir, je serai forcé d'attribuer la ruine totale qui me menace moi et ma famille, la tyrannie pratiquée envers ma personne et la privation de ma liberté qui m'est encore plus chère. Cette liberté je ne veux pas l'obtenir sans solliciter mon procès. La force physique m'a traîné dans ce lieu; mais que peut-elle, d'une manière durable, contre la force morale de l'innocence, en présence de ce tribunal qui fait tôt ou tard une égale justice et des gouvernants et des gouvernés?

" J'ai l'honneur d'être, de Votre Excellence,

le très humble serviteur,

(Signé) L.-H. LaFontaine."

Quelle fut la réponse de Colborne à cet appel ému de l'innocent qui se sait injustement persécuté et fort de son droit? La nécessité humiliante pour LaFontaine d'avoir à subir un interrogatoire de la part de quatre de ses confrères de langue anglaise au barreau de

Montréal, commissaires choisis par le gouverneur pour examiner la nature des charges portées contre les détenus politiques.

Comment LaFontaine se tira-t-il d'affaire? Nous allons le voir dans un document qu'il rédigea séance tenante, et qu'il remit aux délégués de Colborne en même temps que sa réponse à leur prétention de vouloir l'interroger.

10 décembre 1838.

" Précis de la Conversation entre L.-H. LaFontaine, prisonnier, et Messrs. Buchanan, Fisher, Bleakley et Weeks, assumant le titre de Commissaires pour l'examen des prisonniers politiques, laquelle conversation a eu lieu dans la prison de Montréal, le 10 décembre 1838, en présence des Messrs. D.-B. Viger et Charles Mondelet, aussi prisonniers.

" Mr. Fisher interroge M. LaFontaine.

" Mr. Fisher.—Avez-vous préparé par écrit vos réponses à cet examen?

" M. LaFontaine.—D'abord, je veux savoir pourquoi vous m'avez fait venir ici.

" Mr. F. Buchanan.—Nous ne le savons pas.

" M. LaFontaine.—Et moi encore moins.

" Mr. Fisher.—Vous êtes appelé à faire votre déclaration.

" M. LaFontaine.—Sur quoi et sur quels faits?

" Mr. Fisher.—Nous voulons avoir votre déclaration sur les événements récents.

"M. LaFontaine.—Dans ce cas, je dois demander si c'est comme témoin, délateur ou accusé que vous entendez m'interroger.

" Mr. Fisher.—C'est comme accusé.

M. LaFontaine.—Dans ce cas veuillez me dire de quoi je suis accusé, et par qui je l'ai été.

" Mr. Fisher.—Je n'en sais rien.

" Mr. Buchanan.—Ni moi non plus; cependant, il paraît par les livres que vous êtes ici sur soupçon de trahison.

" M. LaFontaine.—Par quels livres, s'il vous plaît, et par qui cette accusation est-elle portée?

" Mr. Buchanan.—Oh! il n'y a rien. Il n'y a pas d'affidavit contre aucun de vous, et nous n'avons aucun document pour le montrer.

" M. LaFontaine.—C'est bien, messieurs. Je prends acte de la déclaration que vous venez de faire qu'il n'y a ni accusation ni aucun affidavit contre nous.

" Puis, voici ma réponse à l'examen que vous prétendez me faire subir.

" A. A. Buchanan, Ecr., D. Fisher, Ecr.,
John Bleakley, Ecr., and G. Weeks, Ecr.,
avocats, etc., etc."

" Messieurs,

" En réponse à votre prétention de m'interroger, je vous déclare qu'il m'est impossible de concevoir en vertu de quelle autorité légale vous assumez cette prétention. Il serait absurde de penser que vous me forcez à venir comme témoin devant vous. Traîné de force dans cette prison le quatre novembre dernier, ce ne peut être que comme prisonnier, et par conséquent comme accusé, que vous voulez sans doute essayer de m'interroger. Dans ce cas, mon opinion est qu'un des objets réels de votre prétendue enquête est de m'exposer, moi et les autres prisonniers amenés devant vous, à nous incriminer. C'est fouler aux pieds tout ce que les lois anglaises, la justice, la morale, ont de plus sacré.

" Le Chef de l'Exécutif dont vous agissez sans doute comme subdélégués, quoique illégalement, sait déjà ou doit déjà savoir que ma détention et celle d'un grand nombre d'autres dans cette prison, sont illégales, immorales, injustifiables sous tous les rapports, et, pour plusieurs d'entre nous, le fruit de la malice, de la haine et de la vengeance, et qu'elles ont eu lieu dans la vue d'opérer notre ruine et celle de nos familles. Votre prétendue enquête n'a été avisée que comme un piège tendu à l'innocence des prisonniers, en ce qu'entre autres elle a aussi pour objet d'essayer à pallier, après coup, l'emprisonnement tyrannique et illégal d'une foule de citoyens auxquels le gouvernement n'a encore pu et ne peut encore rien imputer, nonobstant tous les moyens à sa disposition. Je persiste dans le contenu de ma lettre du trois du courant, adressée à Son Excellence sir John Colborne, et dans laquelle je lui demande solennellement mon procès ou ma liberté pleine et entière.

" Pour les raisons ci-dessus je refuse de reconnaître et nie les pouvoirs ou la juridiction que vous prétendez exercer de la part de l'Exécutif.

" Prison de Montréal, ce 10 décembre 1838.

L.-H. LaFontaine."

" Produced before us this 10th day of December 1838, by L. H. LaFontaine.

(Signed) Duncan Fisher, C.E."

Ces documents, *la lettre à Colborne* et le *précis de la conversation avec les commissaires*, sont les derniers de ceux qui couvrent la période agitée de 1837 et 1838 et que nous avons examinés de la volumineuse collection de manuscrits inédits laissés à *La Société Historique de Montréal* par sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine.

Le dernier devait être un instrument de liberté, puisque trois jours après sa rédaction, LaFontaine sortait de prison. Son associé au barreau, M. Jos. A. Berthelot, en était sorti la veille.

Quatre ans plus tard, le prisonnier de Colborne était appelé par sir Charles Bagot à la tête de l'administration de l'Ontario et du Québec, c'est-à-dire à la gouverne des Canadas-Unis. Le 13 septembre 1842, jour anniversaire de la bataille des plaines d'Abraham, devenait une autre date mémorable dans notre histoire, puisque ce jour-là LaFontaine obtenait l'octroi définitif et intégral des libertés britanniques. Le pays salua pour la première fois l'avènement d'un exécutif responsable au peuple, et enfin le gouverneur devait dorénavant se renfermer dans son rôle de Vice-roi constitutionnel.

Nous allons en voir l'application dans l'épisode suivant:

Le 17 décembre 1844, LaFontaine proposait à la Chambre " qu'une humble adresse fut présentée à Sa Majesté, demandant le pardon de tous crimes, offenses et délits, se rattachant à la malheureuse époque de 1837-38, et l'oubli de toutes les condamnations, mises hors la loi, portées durant la même époque ". L'adresse ayant été votée à l'unanimité, le gouverneur, sir Charles Metcalfe, fut prié de la transmettre à Londres. La réponse ne se fit pas attendre. Une dépêche du secrétaire colonial, lord Stanley, en date du 31 janvier 1845, annonça que tous les déportés canadiens des colonies pénales avaient reçu leur pardon, " par l'exercice spontané de la clémence royale."

Ce n'était pas la première fois que LaFontaine, ému de la pénible condition faite aux exilés dont le sort l'avait menacé personnellement, se faisait le défenseur de la cause de ces malheureuses victimes du "mouvement" de 1837-38 que l'on avait punies avec tant de sévérité. Dès la session de 1842, l'administration dont il était le chef, sous sir Charles Bagot, annonçait que le gouvernement était en correspondance avec le ministre colonial pour qu'une amnistie fut accordée pour toutes les offenses commises pendant les troubles politiques précités, dans le Haut-Canada et dans le Bas-Canada. Lord Stanley avait répondu cette fois qu'il ne pouvait conseiller à la reine (Victoria) d'accorder une amnistie générale, mais il ajoutait que Sa Majesté serait prête à recevoir des requêtes sur chaque cas en particulier et qu'elle agirait avec la plus grande indulgence envers les personnes impliquées dans les troubles. C'était laisser entrevoir la promesse et par conséquent l'espérance d'un pardon sur requête au gouverneur général. De fait, des lettres de grâce furent accordées en 1843 à plusieurs chefs haut-canadiens et bas-canadiens réfugiés aux Etats-Unis, entre autres aux docteurs John Rolph, Charles Duncomb et Wolfred Nelson, à MM. David Gibson, Robert-S.-M. Bouchette, Ludger Duvernay et M. Montgomery. Bien plus, les procès politiques commencés depuis longtemps contre MM. Louis-Joseph Papineau, le docteur O'Callag-

han et Thomas Storrow Brown, accusés du crime de haute trahison, furent abandonnés la même année.

Comment LaFontaine réussit-il à faire entrer un *nolle prosequi* en faveur de ces trois chefs bas-canadiens sans qu'ils aient eu à solliciter leur pardon, et comment s'y prit-il pour obtenir cet acte de justice de lord Metcalfe? Le document suivant va nous le dire excellemment:

"Relation de mes entrevues avec sir Chs. Metcalfe, au sujet du "Nolle prosequi" logé sur l'indictement contre M. Papineau:—

"J'étais à Montréal, lorsque Madame John Rolph vint à Kingston demander à sir Chs. Metcalfe le pardon de son mari; ce que j'appris à mon arrivée à Kingston, en juillet 1843. L'acte de pardon est daté du 25 de ce mois. L'un de mes collègues, l'Honorable J. H. Dunn, vint me voir à mon arrivée et m'informa du fait, me disant en même temps qu'il paraissait que le gouverneur hésitait à accorder ce pardon et me priait de l'aller voir à ce sujet. "Je n'irai pas," fut ma réponse. Dunn: "Pourquoi pas?" LaFontaine: "Je vous le dirai plus tard. Ne m'en demandez pas plus pour le présent."

"Le lendemain ou le surlendemain de mon arrivée, j'appris que sir Chs Metcalfe avait consenti au pardon. J'allai le voir ensuite. Il m'en parla, je lui dis que j'en étais bien content; et là-dessus, s'engagea une conversation dont voici le résumé:

LaFontaine.—"Je suis bien content, Votre Excellence, que vous ayez pardonné le Dr Rolph et les deux autres individus. Mais ils sont tous du Haut-Canada. Il est juste que j'obtienne, à mon tour, la même mesure de justice pour le Bas-Canada. Je ferai remarquer à Votre Excellence que le Dr Rolph était considéré le Papineau du Haut-Canada."

Sir Charles (qui fit un mouvement indiquant qu'il avait de suite compris le but de ma remarque) me répondit: "Si c'est le cas ici, je vous assure, M. LaFontaine, qu'il n'en est pas de même au Bureau Colonial, où le Dr Rolph est regardé comme un petit garçon comparé à M. Papineau, et tel étant le cas, je ne puis, en présence des dépêches de lord Stanley, faire pour M. Papineau ce que j'ai fait pour le Dr Rolph. Du reste, il ne l'a pas demandé."

LaFontaine.—"Est-il juste, Votre Excellence, que M. Papineau souffre par suite de la haute opinion que le Bureau Colonial a pu se former de ses talents? Vous me dites qu'il n'a pas demandé son pardon. Il n'a pas de pardon proprement dit à demander. Car, il n'y a pas de conviction contre lui. Il a très bien fait, et si j'étais à sa place j'en ferais autant. Ce que je prends la liberté de vous demander, c'est l'autorisation de loger un *nolle prosequi* en ce qui le concerne et concerne deux autres individus du Bas-Canada placés dans une situation analogue à celle des deux autres individus du Haut-Canada que vous avez pardonnés. Ce sera justice égale pour le Haut-Canada et le Bas-Canada."

Sir Charles.—" Mais ce que vous me demandez là, M. LaFontaine, si je vous l'accorde, aura l'effet d'une amnistie générale que j'aurais préféré voir accorder, mais qui est expressément refusée par lord Stanley."

LaFontaine.—" C'est vrai, Votre Excellence. Mais, à mes yeux, le pardon que vous avez accordé au Dr Rolph doit, pour la même raison, avoir l'effet d'une amnistie générale pour le Haut-Canada. Et en lui accordant ce pardon, vous m'avez donné le droit de vous demander la même chose pour le Bas-Canada."

Sir Charles.—" Je vois que j'ai été trop loin dans l'affaire du Dr Rolph. Si j'avais alors envisagé l'affaire sous ce point de vue, je n'aurais point fait ce que j'ai fait."

LaFontaine.—" Je dois avouer à Votre Excellence que c'est la crainte d'un pareil résultat qui m'a empêché de vous venir voir immédiatement après mon retour de Montréal. Vous m'auriez probablement fait part de la démarche de Madame Rolph. Et moi, je vous aurais dit ce que je viens de vous dire. Il est évident que le résultat eût été un refus d'acquiescer à la demande faite dans l'intérêt du Dr Rolph. Et je ne me serais pas cru justifiable d'avoir, même involontairement, amené ce résultat. Je ne pense pas avoir manqué, en cela, à mon devoir envers Votre Excellence."

Sir Charles.—" Vous avez raison, aussi je ne vous en fais pas de reproche. Je suis seul à blâmer."

LaFontaine.—" Par ma demande, j'ai peut-être pris Votre Excellence par surprise. En vous demandant la permission de me retirer, je prie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien donner toute son attention au sujet, et je suis convaincu qu'elle reconnaîtra tout ce qu'il y a de juste dans ma demande."

" A quelques jours de là, une autre entrevue eut lieu sans produire un résultat plus favorable à ma demande. A cette entrevue, je donnai à entendre au gouverneur que son refus d'accéder à ma demande me mettrait dans la nécessité de me retirer du ministère. Il me permit d'aller de nouveau lui parler du même sujet.

" Entre cette entrevue et la troisième, je fis part à mes collègues de ce qui s'était passé entre le gouverneur et moi et ma détermination bien arrêtée d'offrir ma résignation si Son Excellence persistait dans ce refus. Plusieurs d'entre eux m'autorisèrent à dire qu'ils en feraient autant.

" A la troisième entrevue, le sujet fut ramené sur le tapis et j'offris à Son Excellence ma résignation, lui disant qu'elle serait suivie de celle de plusieurs de mes collègues. J'ajoutai qu'il était à propos qu'elle fut acceptée le plus tôt possible, afin que Son Excellence eût le temps de refaire son administration avant la convocation des Chambres. Son Excellence me pria d'aller le voir de nouveau le surlendemain. Je fus ponctuel au rendez-vous.

" A cette quatrième entrevue, où il fallait ou acquiescer à ma demande ou accepter ma résignation et celle de plusieurs de mes collègues, sir Charles me dit, ainsi qu'il me l'avait dit à chaque entrevue précédente, qu'il regrettait beaucoup qu'une amnistie générale n'eut pas été accordée; qu'il avait été trop loin en pardonnant le Dr Rolph, mais que l'ayant fait, il devait, après avoir pesé toutes mes raisons, reconnaître que ma demande était juste; qu'il ne pouvait pas s'y refuser plus longtemps; qu'il était presque certain qu'il serait censuré *at home* (c'est-à-dire au bureau colonial), mais qu'il devait en supporter les conséquences.

" Plus tard, il me dit en effet que sa conduite, dans cette occasion, n'avait pas été approuvée au Bureau Colonial."

Et voilà comment il se fait que Papineau, réputé si redoutable en Angleterre, aurait pu revenir au pays avant que l'amnistie générale de 1845 eût été accordée.

Ce récit méritait d'être tiré de l'oubli. Qu'on remarque l'habileté, la droiture, et, pour tout dire, la grandeur d'âme de LaFontaine. Son désintéressement allait jusqu'à sacrifier le pouvoir et les honneurs plutôt que de ne point voir appliquer à sa province la même mesure de justice que l'on jugeait bonne pour la province voisine.

De plus, en cette occurrence, il avait fait admettre par sir Charles Metcalfe le principe de la responsabilité du chef du cabinet, principe que ce même gouverneur allait bientôt méconnaître dans d'autres circonstances qui amenèrent Denis-Benjamin Viger, un autre prisonnier de Colborne en 1838, à former un nouveau ministère pour remplacer celui de Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine.

THE PASSING OF THE SAILING SHIP AT QUEBEC

BY

PEMBERTON SMITH

I am going to ask you to imagine yourselves for a while in the fresh, breezy atmosphere of Champlain's old city of Quebec as it was in the year 1888—a very different city to the Quebec we know to-day. I am not saying that Quebec has not grown, developed and improved, but that it was different. Its appearance, type and smell was that of a seaport town. You would have seen a "forest of masts" on both shores of the river, from the Dufferin Terrace in the summer. This was long before the Château Frontenac was even planned. During the shipping season, there were in port as many as a couple of hundred ocean-going sailing vessels. Black hulled, three masted, by far the greater proportion of the "barque" rig, (that is, with square sails on the fore and main mast, and fore and aft sails only on the mizen), with but a few full-rigged ships. The mass of spars and cordage formed a thick fringe along the docks where the vessels lay often two deep on both shores of the river. The harbour, besides, was alive with tugs, large and small, an army of them, large tugs employed in towing the ships into port from below the island of Orleans, or for setting them well on their way down the lower river when loaded with lumber; small tugs towing lumber from cove to cove, or from cove to ship. The harbour front was filled with ship's chandler's stores, sail-makers' lofts, and the shops of dealers in nautical instruments and supplies of every kind; while all through the lower town was the distinct odour of hemp and tar and the flavour of the sea.

Every winter these ships scattered to the seven seas; but in the spring they all flocked back to Quebec again, to carry timber in the log to Great Britain. Some of them would bring in cargoes, but many would come "in ballast," and then would first anchor in the centre of the broad part of the river just above cape Diamond, long known as the "ballast ground." There they would dump the rock ballast overboard into the river, to be towed into the cove or dock where they were to be loaded with lumber. A good many were of British register, but a number were Norwegian vessels, and a few, Swedes. The trip from Bristol to Quebec would generally take from three weeks to a month, and the loading all of three weeks. These vessels would therefore as a rule be able to make two trips in the summer; but some of the faster ships had a record of three trips each season. They were of all ages and stages of repair: some bluff-bowed old carriers with the lines of a canal barge, like the *G. M. Carins*, some famous clipper barques like the *Maud* and the *Canova* (who used to race to Bristol and back year after year), and some of

them old East India packets, full-rigged ships, like the *Paramatta*. No one of these vessels was without an elaborate and gilded figure-head under the jib-boom. Many of them intended to sail the Quebec route until they actually fell apart; for it was a tradition that no wooden ship loaded with Canadian pine could ever sink.

They were a fine, clean, manly lot, these old Norwegian and British ship captains. They created, every summer, an atmosphere of wholesome salt-sea air in the old city. Captain Hazelton, master and part owner of the *G. M. Carins*, for instance, used to say "that he had lived all his life from a boy in his ship, all his savings were in the ship, and he intended to sail the same old ship until he died." His wish was granted. His vessel finally went to pieces in a storm off the coast of Newfoundland, and he and all hands were lost. Many were the wonderful deep-sea yarns one could gather in, by making a Sunday afternoon call on the captain aboard his own ship. The sailor-men, also, of whom you would meet groups wandering and singing along the countryside near the city during their long shore leave, were an honest trustworthy set, and no general menace to the home-keeping citizens. A sailor on a modern steamer is not, properly speaking, a sailor, but a mechanic or ordinary day-labourer: and it is often said (perhaps unjustly) that he is gathered from the "scum of the earth." But the sailor on the old "Wind-Jammer" was a very different type of man. Accustomed month after month to face the wonder and the power of the deep seas in a puny little craft, depending entirely on the navigating judgment of the captain, and his own agility and endurance during the storms, it would seem as if the open sea-air had blown most of the viciousness and self-indulgence out of his life. These were the days when a man was proud of his "A. B." certificate.

But it would not do to pretend everything was lovely; to every sea port there is a seamy side. During the three weeks the vessel was in port, the mate had full charge, and the captain would take a well-earned rest. There were some hard-drinking captains, and they were even known to retire into seclusion in Champlain street, below the hill; from whence they would be produced by the stevedore when the vessel was ready to sail, and be called on to sign the ship's bills of lading. Cases were known when the captain, at such a time, would be in a pugnacious alcoholic humour, and absolutely refuse to sign anything. The merchant's clerks, the mate, and the stevedore would all wrestle with his obstinacy till human patience was exhausted. His ship would then start down the river next tide, in tow of its tug, the captain loudly boasting that he would "show the world." But the merchant could not let his cargo leave port without his bills of lading to vouch for it; so, as a result of a quiet message from him, a swift steam launch, with ten or fifteen men in neat blue

uniforms, would slip away from the dock. This would be the Harbour Police boat *Dolphin,* who would soon catch up with the outward-bound barque moving slowly behind her tug and " arrest " the vessel for leaving port without a proper clearance, ordering her back (as Jacobs puts it) a " shame-faced looking " ship. By that time the captain would be in the sobering-up stages, and ready and willing to sign anything put before him.

Dark and mysterious deeds were said to happen on Champlain street. Certain it is that common rumour made it dangerous in the extreme for a stranger to enter the street alone after dark. The business of "Shanghai-ing" sailors throve exceedingly. There were several men who lived with the unenviable reputation of being "Crimps," the name then given to that dubious profession. A harassed ship-captain would often lose several of his crew soon after reaching port; and after exhausting time and patience trying to locate them or replace them, would in desperation call in the services of one of these " Crimps," who, for a consideration, would agree to deliver him the required number of A. B. sailormen, who were being kept in stock, drunk and drugged, somewhere down in Champlain street, the hold-overs from the crew of some former vessel. Grim tales there were of men having been delivered as live sailors, but " doped," who were stone dead when they came aboard.

From St. Joseph de Lévis, up both sides of the river, through Wolfe's cove to Sillery and Bridgewater coves (where the Quebec bridge now crosses), the shores were strewn thick with square logs of pine, oak, and elm; and the sound of the axemen filled the air. I may say that good timber gives to the stroke of the axe a clear musical ring; and, in the distance, on a still afternoon, the music of the axe was very noticeable and pleasant. There was another musical note when the tide was "out," that was the shout of the foreman to his men, as five or six of them worked with canthooks to turn over a heavy log of pine on the beach. From tradition, this shout was always sung out by the foreman in a quaint minor sing-song "Ahoy, Aha-oy," the men heaving together with each shout. You can imagine to yourselves this music of industry, rising faintly to the ear from every direction, if you were seated on a still, warm afternoon, say on Sillery hill.

A highly-skilled workman was the Canadian broad-axe man. Alas! he and his broad-axe have passed away for ever. One edge of the blade was flat; and this tool was used for shaving off a fraction of an inch of the outside of a log, which had been stained by mud and weather, so as to give it the bright, clean appearance of new wood. The most spectacular work was the cutting off of the end of a log; which meant chopping across the grain. The culler would mark off with blue pencil say a quarter of an inch from the end, in one spot.

The broad-axe man would stand on the end of the log as it lay on the beach, possibly four feet in diameter; and, swinging up his axe, hew to the mark by a hair's breadth all through the thickness of the log. His eyes and arms combined to a marvel of accuracy. If he felt the axe descending out of the true he would swing that blow harmlessly off to one side; and, raising it again, bring it down the second time exactly to the line.

The late W. E. Gladstone, famous for cutting down trees at Hawarden for exercise, having heard of the operation of the Quebec broad-axe men, once wrote to the late Mr. Dobell, asking him to send him in a couple of Canadian broad-axes. This was done, but with the warning that these were highly specialized implements, not only unsuitable, but dangerous to the operator if used for felling trees.

Most of our writers on French Canadian folklore have classed the dwellers of the country parishes comprehensively as "town dwellers" or as "habitants" ("les cultivateurs"). But there was a third class, the "lumber-jack" or "l'homme des chantiers." This man never bothered to till the soil; and, in his love for a free outdoor life and the thrills of a dangerous occupation, he might well be likened to the old "coureurs de bois" of earlier days. Every summer the lumber jack worked in the "coves" at Quebec, "dans les chantiers de M. Wade," or "dans les chantiers de M. Dobell." But when the fall came, they were off to the shanties in earnest. In the year 1888 that I have mentioned, they gathered in by train. Prior to that, they used to make Ottawa their rendezvous, and team in. Again in the spring, when the "drive" was on past Ottawa, this city would be teeming with lumber men. They went off to their winter's work singing. Several of the songs that our friend Mr. Barbeau has collected so carefully are lumber men's songs. Some of them refer directly to Ottawa; such as, "Oh, Bytown c'est une jolie place;" and "Laissez passer les Raf'-man!" For a long paddle none was more popular than the old favorite, "En roulant ma boule," the stroke of the paddle fitting in with the word "en" and the word "boule," whenever they were repeated in the chorus. "A la claire fontaine," with its quaint sad air, was another great paddle favorite. For a cheerful evening song after a hard day's work, it was "Tu danses bien, Madeleine," which goes with a ring and a swing. And one very famous old paddle song in English was, "The Opeongoo."

A lumberman, who died and was buried prior to 1888, would be amazed were it possible for him to visit a typical lumber camp of to-day. The bunk houses and the cook camps would seem to him the acme of luxury, and the food better and more varied than he ever dreamed of. But the camp is usually near the mill, which is a rough-looking, almost "portable" mill; and the mill is near the limits—thick, small, ragged-looking groves of spruce (a wood that once was

scorned as worthless). The whole aspect is that of a cheap, sordid, money-making commercial concern. Gone are the great pine trees, a hundred, a hundred and twenty feet of straight stems before the branches spread out to form a curtain of needles. Gone also are the camps where the men slept in their bunks on fresh-cut "sapin" boughs; where one iron kettle served for all the meals that were cooked. The railways now have brought the post office close to the camp. But prior to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the men who went into camp from Mattawa, or up the Opeongo, were "dead to the world" from fall to spring. From this remoteness and loneliness grew the legend of the "chasse galerie." The Devil used to arrive in person, but disguised, on New Year's eve, and he always succeeded in gathering a crew to run the "chasse galerie." The lumbermen would start off boldly in a York boat or a canoe, Satan himself steering with a paddle, the crew paddling bow and sides. And presto! the canoe would lift. Soaring high above the trees, it would steer south and east through the air, and deliver each member of the crew at his chosen parish (Ste. Croix, Cap Santé, or St. Nicholas), to spend New Year's Day dancing and feasting with his "blonde." Satan would gather his crew together again, at midnight, and set them safely back at work in the camp the morning after New Year's. Their comrades never "peached on them;" so the only way the camp boss could tell which of his men had been out on the "chasse galerie" was by suspecting that some were more tired and exhausted than the others. The "return fare" was very moderate. No "cash down," the only cost was the promise of the lumber-jack's soul after death! But there was a come-back, and a well authenticated way of taking advantage of the trip while yet avoiding payment. After they had passed over Ottawa, it was for the bow paddle to overcome the steersman's direction, and drop down so as to graze the cross of some parish church. If they could manage this, the spell was broken; Satan himself would vanish in a burst of sulphur flame; the canoe and crew would spill into the soft snow; and the agreement to deliver their souls after death was "null and void." There would only remain the long tramp back to the camp; a small price to pay for the New Year's Day holiday. I can remember being snowbound in the little parish of St. Barthelemi one New Year's eve; when, on the good man's opening the front door at night, such a burst of driving wind and snow came in that it was difficult to close the door again, whereon the good wife remarked quite calmly and naturally: "Ah, c'est rien que la chasse galerie qui passe!"

With the opening of spring, and following the breaking up of the ice on the rivers, came the third phase, the "drive." The drive to-day is a puny affair compared to the driving of the entire log from the tributary down the whole length of the Ottawa river, and the St.

Lawrence to Quebec, there to be loaded in its entirety into one of the sailing ships already described. The skill, agility and daring of these chaps on the drive was almost beyond belief. If a couple of logs got stuck on a rock in the very middle of a rapid, their duty was, somehow, to pry them loose and put them on their way. Down the old "timber chutes" the logs passed the Chaudiere falls at Ottawa, bound together into "cribs" of thirty to sixty logs; each crib was then manned by a crew with long sweeps and floated down the lower Ottawa, running the falls at Grenville and Carillon; and so by the "Back river" behind Montreal to Charlemagne, at the foot of Montreal island. At that point, the cribs were assembled into one huge raft (on which was built a regular camp, cook house, and bunk houses) and placed in tow of a big side-wheel tug. This raft would be about a week on the water from Charlemagne to the cove at Quebec, to which it was destined. There was one old side-wheel tug with a black hull, very powerful, but very slow and careful in the handling of its load. It was an old tradition at Quebec, that whenever the "John A. Macdonald" (which was the proud name it bore) came into sight, it was going to rain.

Such is a rough sketch of the export lumber trade of timber in the log, which had reached its height about the year 1888. If you had returned to Quebec in 1891, only three years afterwards, you would have found the harbour empty of sailing ships, the many coves all idle, no big rafts coming down the river. This export of lumber to the Old Country was, in 1888, the biggest item of Canada's export trade, exceeding then her grain exports; and Quebec, the ancient capital, controlled and dominated this trade. In 1891 it was gone, never to return, so completely that in many coves the huge booms, which confined the timber when the tide was high, were left on the beaches actually to rot away. What was the cause of this sudden change? What evil fairy made all this organization disappear, and forced the older ships to seek a beach where they could be hauled up?

It has been said that this catastrophe was due to the domination of the "Quebec Ship-Labourers' Union," a very highly organized and dictatorial union. It is true they had a strike about 1890, which, so far as I can learn, has never yet been called off. There was no need. Their arbitrariness may have helped; but the main causes lay deeper than that.

For many years Quebec had held her position as the leading city of the Saint Lawrence, both socially and commercially. But in 1888 Montreal had far outgrown Quebec in commerce and wealth. In one line only, that of the exportation of lumber, had Quebec continued to rule the trade. This trade, however, depended on the tradition that no vessel could load lumber except a wood-hull vessel, in the bow of which square ports could be cut at the water line, and

through which the logs could be shoved by the stevedore's men. As all the tramp steamers were steel hulls, this confined the trade to sailing vessels, and Quebec was the farthest point up the river to which a sailing vessel could conveniently proceed. With the passing of the sailing ship would pass Quebec's usefulness as a port.

One of the leading merchants of Quebec conceived the idea of trying out the experiment, in 1889, of loading a tramp steamer with logs of timber, hauling the logs out of the water up over the side of the vessel by steam donkey engine. The experiment, in spite of tradition, proved a great success, for it was found that the cargo could be stowed in a week, instead of requiring three weeks as in the case of a sailing vessel. Still, one of the merchant's prominent confrères asked him if he knew what he was doing—"planning to destroy the chief trade of the city of Quebec." This he denied, asserting that he was planning to improve it, that his experiment was so satisfactory that he would spend $20,000 the next year in building steamer docks (which he did).

In 1891, however, the lumber trade was all gone. While the 200 miles of up current tow from Quebec to Montreal was of vital importance to the sailing vessel, it was nothing to the steamer; and the advantages of the still-water loading berth so short a distance from a high-tide harbour appealed very strongly. Then, with the change over from sail to steam, the Ottawa lumberman (who was at that time the real producer) took a hand. If he was going to ship lumber by steam, he was going to saw to dimension, and earn the milling profit in Canada. This was absolute; and from that time, Great Britain had to buy in deals, boards, and planks sawn in the mills that began to crop up in every direction and loaded into tramp steamers at Montreal. Gone practically in one summer season were all the white-sailed ships, the running of cribs down the rapids of the Ottawa, gone were the immense rafts (the size of a farm) that used to drift from Montreal to Quebec, gone were the valiant broad-axe men, and all the industry of the coves or "chantiers" around Quebec.

Cairn of Dease and Simpson near Port Epworth, Coronation Gulf, N.W. Territories, erected in July, 1839. (Photo by Dr. R. M. Anderson in 1915.)

TWO MONUMENTS IN ARCTIC CANADA

BY

D. JENNESS

Of the many monuments erected by the explorers of the early nineteenth century in the Arctic regions of Canada only a small number have ever come under the notice of later travellers. The Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, during its two years' sojourn in the region around Coronation gulf, encountered two ancient landmarks, one near cape Krusenstern at the western entrance to the gulf, the other on the south shore of the gulf, between Port Epworth and Gray's bay. Both were photographed by Dr. R. M. Anderson, to whom I am indebted for the present illustrations, as well as for most of the details concerning their structural features.

The monument on the west side of cape Krusenstern was a low conical cairn of flat dolomite slabs piled very roughly on top of one another. Its diameter at the base was about three feet, and its height perhaps three feet six inches. A casual traveller might easily have mistaken it for one of the Eskimo meat-caches that are so numerous in the district, but the stones at the bottom were too small and ill-jointed to keep out predatory animals and the centre of the pile was not hollow but solid. Undoubtedly it was the work of white men, and although no records were found within it, we can hardly be wrong in assigning it to Sir John Richardson's party in 1848. Indeed, Richardson actually mentions the erection of a monument in this very place, for he says in his journal:—

"We remained all the 30th (August) in an encampment, watching the ice outside, or making excursions across the cape (Krusenstern) to examine the sea in various directions. Some small lanes of water were visible, and the ice was moved to and fro by the flood and ebb, but no channel was discovered by which we could hope to make any progress towards the Coppermine River. The wind continued in the east-north-east quarter, and the weather was very chilling. *We employed the men in erecting a column of stone near the tents.*"[1]

The second monument seen by the expedition, that near Port Epworth, was much more imposing than Richardson's. Its site was a level platform about ten feet above the sea, on a low promontory that was almost severed from the mainland by bays on either side. The monument itself was an elongated, cone-shaped structure about four feet wide at the base and twelve feet high, neatly built of flattish slabs of limestone and sandstone, interspersed here and there with diabase and granite. Surmounting it was a stone cross formed by a single horizontal slab of limestone three feet in length, with a vertical slab, also of limestone, projecting rather less than a foot above

[1] Richardson, Sir John, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, London, 1851, Vol. I, p. 296.

it. Altogether it made a very striking landmark, which could be seen from several miles off shore.

There can be no question of the Eskimos erecting such a monument, and the only travellers who had passed along this coast prior to 1915 were Franklin in 1821, Dease and Simpson in 1838 and 1839, Rae in 1849 and Hanbury in 1902. Hanbury need not be considered in this connection, because he was not in the habit of erecting landmarks along his route. In the narratives of the other explorers

Cairn of Sir John Richardson near Cape Krusenstern, N. W. Territories, erected August 30, 1848. (Photo by Dr. R. M. Anderson in 1915.)

the only mention of a monument on the south shore of Coronation gulf is an indirect statement by Simpson. In the description of his second journey with Dease in 1839 there is the following remark:—

"Emerging from the Coppermine on the 3rd of July, our first day's progress was only five miles, the first week's but twenty, and it was the 18th before we could attain Cape Barrow. Just as we had effected a landing through the ice, an enormous mass of rock fell, with a loud crash, from one of the opposite islands, several miles distant. I seized upon this otherwise trivial incident as a happy omen to rally the spirits of our Indian companions, which were depressed by an evil dream that had visited one of them. He saw, in his vision, flames issuing from the mouth of *a rude monumental figure of stones, erected by our people at a place where the ice detained us several days. . .*"[1]

[1] Simpson, Thomas, *Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Shore of America*, London, 1843, p. 354.

It is strange that Simpson does not give the latitude and longitude of the place, as he does of three other monuments erected by his party farther east. But the silence of the other explorers, and the fact that this is the only landmark known to exist between the Coppermine river and cape Barrow, make it reasonably certain that Simpson's "monumental figure" is this striking cross, which has withstood unharmed the ravages of nearly a century.

A rather amusing corollary to this account may perhaps be of interest. When Dr. Anderson, with the geologist and topographers of his party, landed at this spot in the autumn of 1915, they left their record on a short board which they wedged in a crevice near the top of Simpson's pillar. In the February following, while travelling through the same region with a half-breed boy and one or two other companions, I camped in the vicinity of the monument, and was greatly elated to find so spendid a piece of firewood on this barren and desolate coast. The inscriptions, obscured by the encrusted snow, remained unnoticed, and this record of our comrades' visit, I regret to say, went to cook our evening meal. Its fate should be a warning to future travellers in the Arctic to make their monuments of something less valuable, and less perishable, than wood.

NOTES ON DAVID THOMPSON

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

Some years ago, while hunting material for a history of western American exploration—using American in the continental sense—I came across a curious prospectus, which interested me because the man who issued it was at one and the same time the greatest and the least known of Canadian explorers, David Thompson. Thompson had devoted a lifetime to western discovery, he was in a very real sense one of the most remarkable geographers the world has seen, and yet neither during his lifetime nor afterward had the value of his achievements been recognized. He ended a long life of tireless activity, the value of which to his country and the world it would be impossible to overestimate, in obscure poverty, and he lies in an unmarked grave at Montreal.

The prospectus, with its characteristic punctuation, is much too long to quote in full, but one may find room for a few lines:—

> "To be published, in England, by David Thompson, a new and correct Map of the Countries in North America; situated between the Parallels of 45 degrees; and 60 degrees of North Latitude; and extending in Longitude from the east

side of Lake Superior, and Hudson's Bay, quite across the Continent to the Pacific Ocean; and from his own local knowledge; being the result of 22 years employment in discovering, and laying down the several Rivers, Lakes, Hills and Mountains on this extensive tract of Country; many parts of which had never before been explored; these discoveries were only finished in 1812. The whole founded on astronomical observations, the Author being an astronomer by profession."

Referring in the prospectus to the immense fund of new information which he had brought together, Thompson adds this rather pathetic comment: "In early life he conceived the idea of this work, and Providence has given him to complete, amidst various dangers, all that one man could hope to perform." He did indeed complete his work, and embodied the results on the great manuscript map which hung for years in the hall at Fort William, the headquarters of the North West Company, of which Washington Irving gave such a picturesque description, but it is not the least of the tragedies that surrounded the last years of David Thompson that his life-work never appeared in print until the appearance of the Champlain Society volume, except in a fragmentary form on official and private maps which gave no credit whatever to the man who had gathered the information through long years of toil and privation.

Thompson left behind him a long series of manuscript journals, and an autobiography based upon the journals. The latter was published a few years ago by the Champlain Society, of Toronto, under the editorship of J. B. Tyrrell, himself an eminent geographer and traveller. Tyrrell, who as a government surveyor had had occasion to go over much of the ground covered by Thompson, has testified to the extraordinary accuracy of his work. As an example he mentions the fact that his location of such a remote trading post as Fort Cumberland, on the Saskatchewan river, has been found to be within one mile of its precise spot on the earth's surface, which is actually nearer exactitude than the Capitol at Washington was placed by the foremost scientists up to the time that the Atlantic cable brought Washington into instantaneous communication with the observatory at Greenwich.

Thompson's work involved something over fifty thousand miles of travel, sometimes on horseback but generally in canoe or on foot. With very imperfect instruments, and under extraordinarily difficult conditions, he placed on the map the "main routes of travel in one million two hundred thousand square miles of Canada and five hundred thousand square miles of the United States." Although his work as an explorer and surveyor, first in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and later with the North West Company,

Thompson and his voyageurs landing at the Kootenay village.
(Photograph of pageant)

was completed considerably more than a hundred years ago, much of the information on the official maps remains to-day substantially as he left it, not because the territory he covered has not been gone over since, but simply because his work was so accurate that it could not be improved upon. Such a man was surely worthy of remembrance.

For years there had been suggestions for some sort of a suitable memorial to Thompson, but the suggestions never took tangible shape, largely because money was needed and those who controlled the purse-strings were not sufficiently interested to loosen them. It was therefore very welcome news to those who had kept on hoping for some sort of recognition of David Thompson, that a monument had actually been built and that invitations had been sent out for the opening. The memorial takes the very appropriate form of a reproduction of a typical trading post of the old fur-trading days, with palisades and bastions. It stands on the shores of lake Windermere, British Columbia, near the spot where Thompson built his first post west of the mountains, in 1807. Lake Windermere lies not far from the source of the Columbia, between the Rockies and the Selkirks. It is a charming little lake in a very beautiful valley, and can be found on the map by running the finger west along the international boundary to the crossing of the Kootenay river, then north up the Kootenay to its source and a little beyond. It will be remembered that the Kootenay and the Columbia rise very close to one another, the first flowing south and the second north.

Before describing what took place when we met at Windermere to pay this rather belated tribute to the memory of one who was in a very real sense one of the world's greatest explorers and surveyors, it may be worth while to follow Thompson's trail over one small fraction of the immense territory he covered in his travels, if only for the purpose of suggesting the difficulties and hardships that were his portion most of the time throughout a long period of years.

Thompson used two routes through the Rockies, one by way of the upper waters of the Saskatchewan and Howse pass, and the other by way of the upper waters of the Athabaska and Athabaska pass, both leading to the Columbia west of the mountains. Howse pass had been discovered by one of his colleagues of the North West Company, but Thompson himself was the discoverer of Athabaska pass, and under dramatic circumstances.

He was, it must be remembered, a fur-trader as well as an explorer, and the object of his first journey west of the mountains was partly to further the interests of exploration and partly to open up trade relations with the Kootenay and other tribes on the Pacific slope. Thompson himself was essentially a pathfinder, but the North West

Company which employed him was naturally more interested in extending the fur trade.

For several years he had been in close touch with the Piegan, a tribe occupying the foothills east of the Rockies. The Piegan, having obtained guns and ammunition from the traders, had for some time terrorized their hereditary enemies the Kootenay. Consequently when they learned that Thompson planned to cross the mountains, and trade guns and ammunition as well as other desirable commodities with the Kootenay, they determined to prevent him. They managed to intercept some of his men on their way up to Howse pass, and sent them back with a message to Thompson that they would destroy him if he tried to get through the pass. That route was hopelessly barred, for the present at all events. One alternative remained—to find a new route farther north, beyond the Piegan territory. It was already late in the season, and he would have to climb through an unknown pass in the heart of winter, to penetrate the very fastnesses of the Rockies when every gorge would be filled with snow and swept by deadly avalanches. No man less intrepid than Thompson would have made the attempt, knowing what was before him.

With a train of pack-horses, he made his way through the forest from the Saskatchewan northwest to the Athabaska. It was hard going, not because the forest was dense but rather because it was filled with dead timber. Any one who has attempted to ride a horse through "down" timber—even a mountain horse with its sagacity, resourcefulness and ability to climb like a cat—will appreciate the difficulty of the journey, and Thompson and his men had twenty-four loaded horses to look after. The Piegan had followed Thompson's party for a time, but coming upon three grizzlies blocking their track, they were persuaded that Thompson, who, because of his astronomical observations, was deemed a great medicine man, had placed them there as a rearguard, and abandoned the pursuit.

Thompson reached the Athabaska about the end of October, and turned up the great valley through which the Canadian National Transcontinental line now runs to the Pacific. His way lay through what is now the Jasper National Park, but at Brulé lake he found it impossible to take the horses farther. He therefore camped there for several weeks, making snowshoes and sleds, while some of his men went back for dogs to take the place of the horses, and the hunters brought in game to convert into pemmican.

A month later he was off again, with dog-trains, making his way slowly up the Athabaska over the ice. This part of the Rocky mountains is inexpressibly beautiful in summer. The river winds down through a valley clothed with splendid timber and here and there a meadow carpeted with such a wealth of wildflowers as one finds only in the Rockies. Hills roll up on either side, and beyond them tower

the tremendous peaks with their glittering crowns of eternal snow. One travels over excellent trails on a sure-footed mountain pony, equipped with a tipi, that most comfortable and convenient form of tent, plenty of provisions, and a fishing rod. One enjoys all the delights of mountain travel with no serious discomforts.

David Thompson was in very different case. He was travelling through unknown country in mid-winter, with the thermometer ranging down to thirty and forty below zero, sometimes accompanied by gales of wind. He had a whole season's trading goods to get over the mountains, with uncertain transport. His provisions would be sufficient to feed his party if he made the pass. If no practicable way were found through, they might have to face starvation before they could retrace their way to the nearest post.

His men were selfish and irresponsible. He was the brains of the party, the leader, on whose shoulders rested the entire burden of responsibility. If things went wrong, he alone would be to blame. The men would not even for their own protection stick to a reasonable ration. They have, says Thompson, the appetites of wolves, and glory in it. Each man put away eight pounds of meat a day or more. Upon Thompson reproaching them with gluttony, and reminding them that their lives depended upon saving enough provisions to carry them through, they replied, "What pleasure have we in life but eating." As a matter of fact they were worried and alarmed over their situation in this unknown part of the mountains at such a season of the year, and were trembling on the verge of mutiny.

Thompson had now passed the junction of the Sunwapta and Miette which together form the Athabaska, and had turned up the former stream. The Miette leads up to what was afterward known as the Yellowhead pass, and the Sunwapta and Whirlpool to Athabaska pass. The Indians in his party assured him that the defile of the mountains they were approaching was the haunt of immense animals which from their description appeared to be mammoths. These stories naturally did not tend to restore the confidence of the voyageurs. A few days later they came on the track of a large animal, which seems to have puzzled even the scientific Thompson. The Indians insisted it was a fabulous monster. The explorer believed it to be an unusually large grizzly, but confesses that the different appearance and great size of the footprints were hard to explain. The men were getting out of hand, and were only kept from open rebellion by the iron will of their leader.

On the 10th of January, Thompson found himself in a narrow gorge leading up to what appeared to be the summit of the pass. The cold was intense and the surroundings appalling. "My men," says Thompson, "were the most hardy that could be picked out of a hundred brave, hardy men, but the scene of desolation before us was

dreadful. I knew that a heavy gale of wind, much more a mountain storm, would bury us beneath it, but thank God the weather was fine.... On our right lay an enormous glacier, about two thousand feet in height; eastward of this a high steep wall of rock. At its foot a forest of pines had been cut clean off by an avalanche as with a scythe.... My men were not at their ease."....

They slept as well as they could in this wind-swept gorge, on snow which they found with a pole to be twenty feet deep. In the morning Thompson found to his delight that they had reached the height of land, and were looking down on the Pacific side of the mountains. "A new world," he exclaims, "was before me." But he was not yet out of trouble. He still had a long way to go, at the worst time of the year, had to find provisions, and his men were still dispirited and disaffected. However, he began the descent, following what is now known as Wood river, a small tributary of the Columbia. The slope was so sharp that the dogs could not control the sleds; they went flying down the incline at breakneck speed, and brought up on either side of a tree in a confused and howling wilderness of dogs, sleds and scattered loads.

Thompson mentions in his journal that on January 13 he sent some men to bring forward certain goods that had been left behind, "which they brought except 5 pounds of ball which being in a leather bag was carried away by wolverine." In August, 1921, one hundred and ten years later, one of the members of an interprovincial boundary survey party discovered at the summit of the pass, where the leather bag had been purloined by the wolverine, 114 deeply corroded musket balls in a cache.

The summit of Athabaska pass, which Thompson found so uninviting and even terrifying in the depth of winter, is a very beautiful spot six months later. In the depression between the hills lie three little mountain tarns, the middle one of which, known since the days of the fur trade as the Committee's Punch Bowl, perhaps from some fancied resemblance to a famous punch bowl in the old Beaver Club in Montreal, the social home of the partners of the North West Company, empties on one side to the Pacific and on the other to the Arctic. Magnificent peaks tower up on every side, among them two that have for years been the subject of a curious controversy. All the maps, up to a few years ago, showed Mount Brown and Mount Hooker as the highest peaks in Canada, and among the highest in America. The height of the former was given as 16,000 feet and of the latter 15,700. This misinformation was finally traced back to the English botanist, David Douglas (after whom the Douglas fir was named), who visited British Columbia in 1827 and crossed the mountains by Athabaska pass. Douglas climbed one of these peaks, and estimated their height above sea level on the supposition that

the summit of Athabaska pass was 11,000 feet. As a matter of fact it is just about half this height, and Brown and Hooker are respectively 10,782 and 9,156 feet. Douglas apparently got his information from Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who is credited in Thompson's "Narrative" with having computed the height of the pass to be 11,000 feet.

It will not be necessary to follow Thompson beyond the mountains, except to mention that some of his men finally became so unmanageable that he was rather relieved than otherwise when four of them deserted and turned back over the mountains. He descended Wood river to the Columbia, at a place famous afterward in the history of the western fur trade as Boat Encampment. Here he spent the rest of the winter, built canoes, and in the spring made his way up the Columbia to Fort Kootenay on Windermere lake. Portaging over what was long afterwards known as Canal Flats, between the head of the Columbia and the Kootenay, he descended that river to the Columbia, and the Columbia to the sea.

Among his other achievements, it may be noted here that Thompson shares with Robert Gray and Lewis and Clark the honour of having discovered and explored the most important river on the Pacific coast. Gray discovered the mouth of the Columbia; Lewis and Clark explored it from the mouth of the Snake to the sea; and Thompson explored and very carefully surveyed the entire river, as well as its principal tributary the Kootenay, from their sources to the sea. Even to-day it is said that Thompson's work remains as the only complete survey of the Columbia.

To return to Kootenay House, the original trading post was built near the source of the Columbia, over eleven hundred miles upstream, four years before Astoria was constructed at the mouth of the river as the headquarters of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. The young and ambitious American fur-trading organization was thus standing guard over the mouth of the Columbia, while its sturdy Canadian rival the North West Company had taken possession of its upper waters. The subsequent rivalry between these two companies is too big a question to go into here. It might be noted, however, as a little foot-note to the history of the fur trade, that Washington Irving, who had used his brilliant pen to throw the glamour of romance around the story of Astoria, at one time proposed to David Thompson that he might turn over his journals to him for publication, but as it appeared that Irving's idea was merely to extract from them such material as he could make use of in his own work, the Canadian explorer declined the offer.

Sixty-five years after Thompson's death, on the last day of August, 1922, a group of representative Canadians and Americans, public men, historians, business men, travellers and mountain-climb-

ers, poets and novelists, were gathered together on the shores of lake Windermere to take part in the opening of a peculiarly fitting memorial to the explorer. The new Fort Kootenay rises from the ashes of the old, as a monument to a man who never sought, and certainly never received, those marks of recognition which have been showered upon many men of inferior worth. In measuring the value of his services to the world one must not forget that the explorer who puts the results of his surveys on the map with the precision of David Thompson is not merely a pathfinder scouting ahead of the tide of settlement, but he is at the same time making a tremendous contribution to human knowledge, he is laying the foundation upon which the geologists and the miners, the road builders and railway builders, and many others, must base their work. The results of Thompson's fifty-thousand miles of exploration and survey, embodied in his great manuscript map, and incorporated from time to time in the printed work of official and private mapmakers, have been unquestionably of great and permanent value.

For this memorial we are primarily indebted to the fine public spirit of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the old Hudson's Bay Company, which between them bore its cost, and whose officials have laboured in many ways to make it a success. The fort, it is understood, is to be maintained as a public museum of the fur trade, under the direction of a local organization.

As a picturesque introduction to the more formal ceremonies in opening the building, the Windermere committee had arranged an historical pageant, and had enlisted the co-operation of a number of old-timers, voyageurs and trappers and early settlers, as well as a neighbouring tribe of Kootenay Indians. The inclusion of the Kootenay was a particularly happy thought, as their forefathers had been intimately associated with David Thompson during all the years that he was engaged as a fur-trader and explorer west of the Rocky mountains. The Kootenay, who are a remarkably capable and fine-looking lot of people, intelligent, industrious and self-respecting, notable hunters and splendid horsemen, and some of them, both men and women, with faces that made those of the whites look decidedly commonplace, threw themselves into the pageant with enthusiasm, and did perhaps more than any others to make it a success.

The pageant represented David Thompson landing with his trading goods on the shores of lake Windermere. The circumstance that a pretty stiff wind was blowing across the lake made the approach of the brigade of canoes so much the more effective and dramatic. The Indians, who were encamped in their tipis on a level piece of ground high above the lake, mounted their ponies and swept down a sharp slope to meet the explorer at the water's edge.

No photograph could give any adequate idea of the spirit and effectiveness of this picture. The movie people were of course on the spot, and got some excellent material for the screen, but even they could not catch the riot of colour, gaudy blankets, buckskin tunics and breeches and skirts covered with beadwork, feather headdresses, plumes and necklaces and bracelets, spears and glittering horse-furniture, that made the scene one to be long remembered.

Other scenes represented Thompson in his fort, smoking the pipe of peace with the Indians, entering into negotiations with the chiefs, meeting Father De Smet, the famous Belgian missionary (this, however, was something of an historical anachronism as De Smet flourished about fifty years after Thompson's time), and carrying on his work as fur-trader and explorer.

The celebration closed with an evening of short addresses by Canadian and American historians who had made special studies of various phases of the work of David Thompson, and an original poem on the spirit of exploration by Bliss Carman, the veteran Canadian poet. Altogether this Windermere meeting, with its permanent memorial, has done at least something to redeem the long years of neglect which the name of David Thompson has suffered at the hands of his fellow-countrymen and the world.

FORT SIMPSON, ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

BY

MARIUS BARBEAU

Among the west-coast establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company in the first part of the nineteenth century, only the trading post at Victoria was comparable in importance with that at Fort Simpson, which was situated near the mouths of the Nass and Skeena rivers, below the present Alaskan boundary, at the place now called Port Simpson.

Fort Simpson was founded about 1833 under the direction of John Work, and later placed under Peter Skene Ogden. It was intended to replace the fort on the Nass, then disestablished—like that of Millbank—on account of its unfavourable situation. The other forts along the coast at that date were those of Talkoo (Taku) and Stickeen (later named Fort Wrangel), in Alaska; and those of Rupert and Victoria, to the south of Fort Simpson. A trading post was also maintained at Bella Bella.

Fort Simpson served as a fur-trading centre for many Indian tribes—the Tsimshian nations (Niska, Gitksan and Tsimshian proper) of the Nass and Skeena rivers and the adjacent coast, the Haidas of

Fort Simpson

Queen Charlotte and Prince of Wales islands, the Tlingit of the Alaskan coast, and some other tribes to the south. The coast natives were warlike and fairly numerous; long-standing feuds between them often resulted in bloody encounters. Clashes between the Haidas, when they visited the fort, and the Tsimshian proper, more than once created an awkward situation for the officers of the company, whose aim was to promote peace for the benefit of their trade. Conspiracies and outbreaks among the ten tribes of the Tsimshian proper—about 2,500 strong—then permanently stationed around the fort, brought matters to an impasse, and when they tried to burn the fort, about 1855, the guns in the corner bastions were fired and a few cedar planks were crushed in the deserted Indian houses on the peninsula just opposite. Peace was soon patched up, however, and the friendly relations desired by both sides resumed. Ammunition for the old eight pounders in the bastions being scarce, the chief trader would pay a shilling for each cannon ball found around the plank houses and returned to the fort for further use if occasion required it. To this day the Port Simpson Tsimshians have remembered with humour the premium placed on recovered gun ammunition.

Many interesting episodes of early life at the fort and among the Indians have been related in print (cf. Arctander's *The Apostle of Alaska*, Crosby's *Among the Ankomenums* and Collison's *In the Wake of the War Canoe*); various manuscripts also contain abundant information.[1]

The following description of the fort as it stood in 1859 is taken from a manuscript of the Bancroft Collection, entitled *Forts and Fort Life in New Caledonia under Hudson's Bay Company Regime, by Pyms Nevins Compton (Victoria, 1878)*.

The fort was built on the same model as those of Rupert and Victoria; the only difference was in size, that of Victoria being larger and with more buildings. The palisaded enclosure at Fort Simpson, about two hundred feet square, surrounded several buildings, a well and a garden (cf. Ill., Compton's plan).

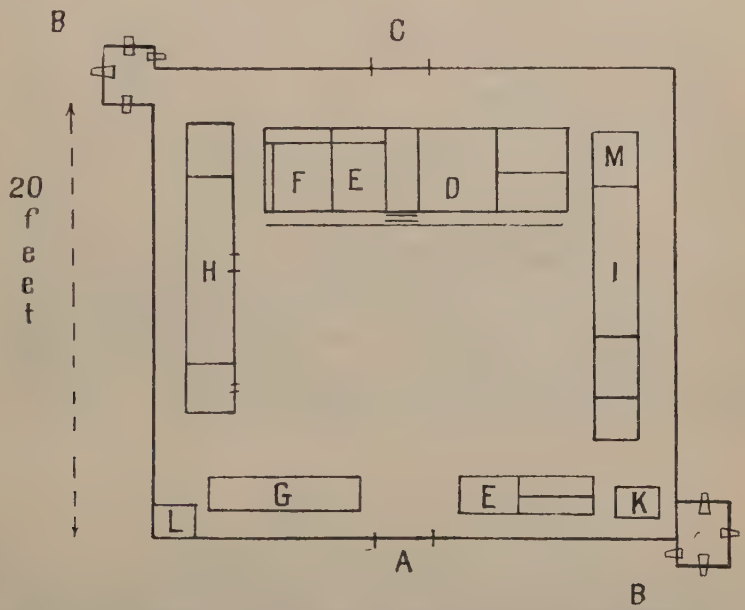
The houses and stores, two stories high, with shingle roofs, were built of logs ten to twelve inches square. The doors and sashes were painted and the walls whitewashed.

One of the most interesting features of the establishment, naturally, was the palisade. It was composed of pickets and a bastion "at each corner"—according to Compton's MS.—or rather, as shown in the plan, at two corners diagonally opposite. In each bastion stood four guns, old eight pounders.

The gates were massive structures about six or seven inches thick, studded with large nails, to guard against their being cut down

[1] Particularly that most voluminous diary, covering about half a century, written by a native convert—Clah-Wellington—and recently sold by his heirs to a curio collector in England.

by the natives. There were small doors within so as to admit only one person at a time. A small box for the gate keeper stood near the front gate.



Pyms Nevins Compton's plan of Fort Simpson (1859). A, front entrance; BB, bastions, 4 guns each; C, back entrance; D, commanding officer's quarters; E, mess room; FF, officers' quarters; G, trade shop; H, warehouse; I, men's houses; K, blacksmith's shop; L, carpenter's shop; M, kitchen.

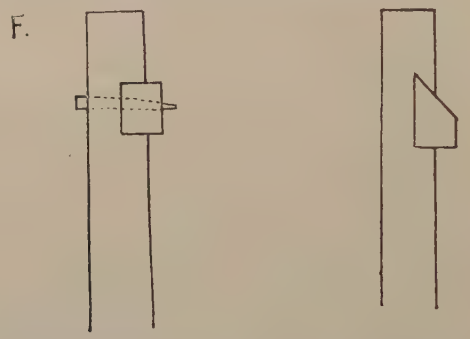
The pickets surrounding the establishment were of cedar, about twenty-two feet long by nine to twelve inches thick; they were square laterally to prevent bullets from passing between, sunk four feet deep in the ground, and attached to cross pieces, about four feet from the top, by means of wooden pegs or oblique notches (*cf.* Ill., from Compton's diagram). The ends of these cross pieces, about fifteen feet long, were mortised into stouter pickets called "King posts."

An inside gallery, according to the same description, ran around the whole enclosure of pickets at about four feet from the top, and afforded "a capital promenade and a means of seeing everything." It was reached by staircases giving separate entrance to the upper bastions, which were octagonal and loopholed for musketry.

A regular watch was kept all night in a small turret, surmounted by the flag staff, over the gate. Every half hour the call "All's well!" was repeated in nautical fashion.

Fort Simpson, in Compton's own words, was "a typical fort, well kept, well built, and one of the finest on the coast." Captain McNeil was in charge at that time (1859) and the personnel consisted of thirteen other men, Orkneys, French-Canadians and Norwegians. The steamer *Beaver,* replaced later by the *Labouchère,* served all the posts along the west coast.

We are indebted to an old Tsimshian native, Frederick Alexksee, for a pictorial reconstruction of the Indian village of Port Simpson—named *Lahkwaw-Kalamps,* "Place-of-Wild-roses," in Tsimshian—

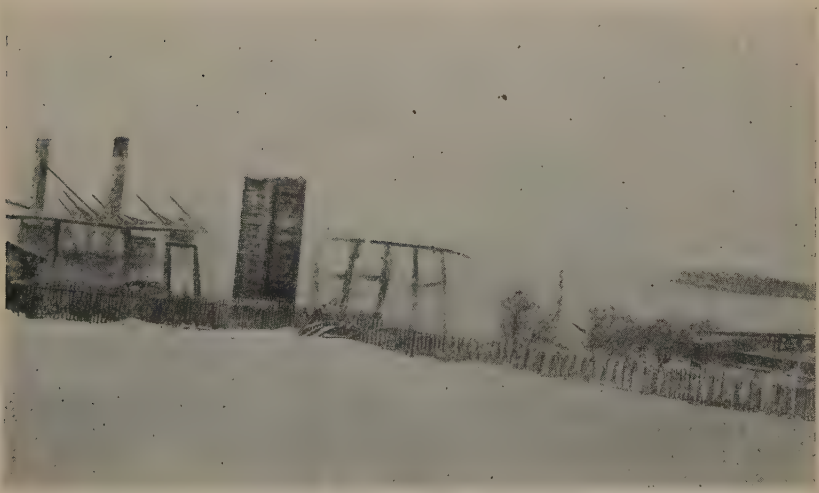


Pickets and cross-pieces and method of attachment.

the totem poles and the fort (at the left hand corner of the illustration here reproduced) as they stood within the recollection of a few old men still surviving.

The only two buildings that remained of the old trading post—a Hudson's Bay Company store and house—were destroyed by fire in the winter of 1915, when the author was engaged in ethnographic research among the adjacent Indians, now reduced in number to about four hundred (*cf.* two photographs taken during, and after, the fire). A modern store privately owned has since occupied the site of the old fort, every vestige of which has now disappeared, and it is only a matter of years before the exact location of the structure and its various features will become a matter of doubt and controversy. No time, therefore, should be lost before commemorating by some permanent inscription this interesting landmark of the early days on the northwest coast.

The last remaining buildings of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s post destroyed by fire in the winter of 1915. (Photo by the author.)



After the fire.

SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

BY

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

Favourable progress was made during the past year relative to the acquisition of historic sites of national importance recommended to the Department of the Interior by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, for preservation, restoration and marking. This board, which acts in an advisory capacity to the department, is composed of recognized historians from the various sections of the Dominion which they represent, and was recently reorganized. Its present personnel is as follows:—

Chairman—Brig. Gen. E.A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa. J. H. Coyne, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., St. Thomas, Ont.; J. Plimsoll Edwards, Halifax, N.S.; His Honour F. W. Howay, LL.B., F.R.S.C., New Westminster, B.C.; Benjamin Sulte, LL.D., Litt.D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa; J. Clarence Webster, BA.. M.D. (Edin.), etc., Shediac, N.B.; J. B. Harkin, Commissioner of Canadian National Parks, Ottawa.

Secretary—Arthur A. Pinard, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, Ontario.

Ready co-operation is being accorded the department in this work by provincial and local historical societies and affiliated organizations. The board has had under scrutiny over seven hundred sites and of these one hundred and twelve have been selected to receive attention.

Where there are no historic remains to be restored or preserved on any of these sites and it is desired to perpetuate the historic occurrence, a memorial in the form of a cairn, boulder or monument to which will be affixed a standard bronze tablet of a highly artistic nature, bearing the historic data is to be erected. An order has been placed for twenty of these tablets and sixteen are at present available for erection during the present summer. A competition was held by the Department for the purpose of obtaining suitable designs for a monument.

An extensive publicity campaign is carried on through the press relative to historic sites selected for action, with a view to creating public interest regarding the early history of Canada.

In the case of important sites acquired, permanent caretakers are employed to carry out the necessary repairs, and act as cicerones to visitors. At smaller sites, part-time caretakers, resident in the immediate vicinity, are employed to supervise them.

A summary of the work accomplished during the past year is enumerated hereunder. The data included in last year's summary are

Blockhouse, Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.

not repeated. (See *Canadian Historical Association of Canada, Annual Report,* 1922, pp. 52-65.)

MARITIME PROVINCES

Louisbourg, N.S.

The Department of Railways and Canals has consented to transfer to the control of this department for historic memorial purposes an area of 69 acres owned by them, comprising a portion of the original site. Steps are also being taken to secure certain parcels owned by the Louisbourg Memorial Association. Certain guns have been located in England and action has been taken to procure these if possible.

Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.

Area 27 acres, on which are situated original blockhouse and ruins of officers' quarters. Blockhouse stained and matter of possible encroachment on property investigated. Action was taken to protect the war trophies on the site and to ensure safety for the public around the ruins. Caretaker appointed.

Fort Cumberland (about four miles from Amherst, N.S.).

Area five acres. Fence material was purchased and fence partially erected. Steps are being taken to secure two of the original cannon for the site.

Port Royal, N.S.

Situated near the mouth of the Annapolis river on the opposite side and six miles below Annapolis Royal. Site of French fort or habitation, built in 1605 by de Monts and Champlain. Cairn and tablet to be erected.

QUEBEC

Second Battle of Laprairie (six miles from Laprairie).

Site of Battle of August 11, 1691, between New England States Militia and the French under Captain de Valrennes. A cairn and tablet will be erected during the coming summer on a plot of land donated by Mr. David Daigneault for this purpose.

Fort Chambly, at Chambly.

Considerable progress was made during the past year in connection with repair work on the buildings to prevent further deterioration. This included work on the buttress walls, tower, caretaker's house and latrines. The clearing of the old cemetery has been completed. A new flag pole was erected, adequate fire protection provided and a new fence placed on the east side of the site. The fort was visited by over six thousand people.

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix.

Area 210 acres. Since the transfer of the site to the Department of the Interior from the Department of Militia and Defence on May 18, 1921, considerable progress has been made in regard to the preservation of the old fort. General improvements have been carried out on the island to make it attractive for tourists. Bridges were reconstructed on the east and south sides, two wharves built and two flag poles erected. General restoration work was carried out on the massive buildings, such as masonry work on walls, laying of floors, replacing of windows, etc. A standard tablet will be placed on the walls at the entrance to the fort, also a memorial on some suitable location on the island to commemorate the Battle of Ile-aux-Noix. Over two thousand people visited the island and fort during last summer.

Tadoussac.

An early fur trade centre for the Montagnais during the French régime. A noted post for Indian traffic and oceanic navigation. It is proposed to place a tablet on the outer wall of the old church if permission can be secured.

Madeleine de Verchères.

It has been ascertained that a monument was erected within a few yards of the St. Lawrence river on the site of the old fort near the old windmill, where over two centuries ago Madeleine de Verchères through her heroic courage saved the settlement from a band of marauding Indians. Steps are being taken to secure the control thereof.

Lachine Massacre, 1689.

Situated on the island of Montreal. Here on August 5, 1689, the Iroquois attacked the settlement and massacred a large number of their inhabitants. Cairn and tablet proposed.

Battle of the Cedars.

Situated about 43 miles above Montreal. Site of blockhouse built by the Americans at the narrows of the river in 1776, where on June 17 they were defeated by British forces who took possession of the place. Cairn and tablet recommended.

Battle of Eccles Hill.

Situated near Frelighsburg, county of Missisquoi. A monument erected some years ago by the Dominion Government, together with the site on which it is located, was transferred to the Department of the Interior by the Department of National Defence, by Order in Council of October 16, 1922.

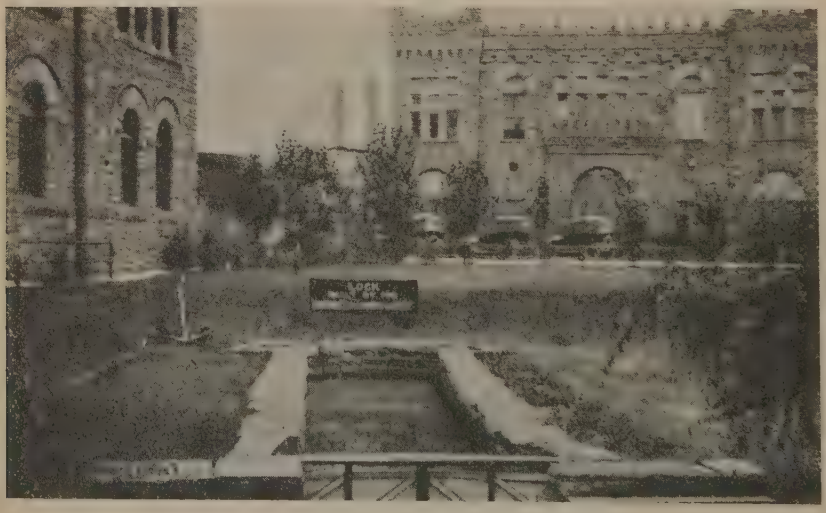
Côteau du Lac.

Site of old fort and canal; the latter was the first of a series of small canals constructed between lake St. Louis and lake St. Francis under the governorship of Sir Frederick Haldimand in 1778. Original canal used until 1801. A second and wider one was constructed in 1817, the remains of which still exist. The old fort was constructed in 1812 as a protection to the canal and was used for other military purposes. Only indistinct evidences of mounds remain. Site owned by Department of Railways and Canals, which has consented to its transfer.

EASTERN ONTARIO

Windmill Point, near Prescott.

A standard tablet will be placed immediately above the entrance to the windmill this summer, to commemorate the victory over the invading force of American filibusterers, November 11-13, 1838, the necessary permission to this end having been granted by the Department of Marine and Fisheries.



Old "Lock site," Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.

Chrysler's Farm, near Morrisburg.

Area .23 of an acre. A monument consisting of an obelisk, on either side of which are two guns, was erected by the Dominion Government in 1895, adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto Highway, to commemorate the victory over the invading American forces at the Battle of Chrysler's Farm, November 11, 1813. Transferred to this

Department by Order in Council of April 4, 1921, by the Militia and Defence Department. An additional bronze tablet is to be placed on the monument this summer. Part-time caretaker appointed and minor repairs carried out.

Ernestown Shipyard, Bath.

Here was built in 1816 the first steamboat which navigated lake Ontario. A cairn and tablet are to be erected on a plot of land 25 feet square, adjacent to the Provincial Highway, at Finkle's Point, which has been donated for this purpose.

Point au Baril, Maitland.

Site of a small shipyard established by the French in 1758 near the village of Maitland. Here in April, 1759, they launched and completed two small ships of war, which were equipped and manned and continued to cruise lake Ontario until the conquest of 1760, when both were taken. Tablet proposed for erection on walls of an old tower located on the site.

WESTERN ONTARIO

Mission of Ste. Marie II, Christian Island.

Situated near Penetanguishene, on an Ojibwa Indian Reserve. Permission has been secured from the Indians to carry on the proposed work of restoration, etc. A memorial tablet will be placed on a large boulder and the property cleared, drained and fenced during the present summer.

Mission of St. Ignace.

Situated in the township of Tay, on the farm of Charles E. Newton. Site of Huron village captured by the Iroquois on March 16, 1649, and of the place to which Brébeuf and Lalemant were brought and where they were tortured to death. No visible remains. An area containing approximately $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres, together with a right of way, has been donated to the Department, and this will be fenced and a cairn and tablet erected during the present summer.

Port Dover (wintering site).

Situated about three-quarters of a mile from the "cliff site," at the mouth of Black creek. Site of the wintering place of Dollier and Galinée and seven other Frenchmen in 1669-70. An area, on which a cairn with a commemorative tablet, enclosed by a suitable design of fence, will be erected during the present summer, has been secured. A landing dock will also be constructed.

Cross "Cliff site," Port Dover, Ont.

Normandale blast furnace.

Site of first blast furnace for the manufacture of iron in western Ontario. Established in 1823 at Normandale and maintained in operation until 1850. Tablet proposed for erection on the outer wall of the Dominion Fish Hatchery, between Port Rowan and Port Dover.

Brock's route (Port Dover to Detroit).

It has been decided to erect suitable memorials at several of the camping places of General Brock's expedition to Detroit in 1812, including Port Dover, Port Stanley, Port Talbot, Point Pelee and Sandwich.

WESTERN CANADA

North-west Rebellion, 1885.

The board have recommended that the following sites associated with the North-west Rebellion should be marked by suitable memorials: Battlefield of Fish Creek, Frog Lake, Duck Lake battlefield, Batoche, Cutknife battlefield and Battleford. Action is being taken to secure control of suitable sites.

Battle of Seven Oaks, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Site of battle between fur-trading companies on June 19, 1816. Area approximately one-half acre, on which is located a monument, situated within the limits of the city of Winnipeg. At present owned by the Lord Selkirk Association of Rupert's Land, which has agreed to transfer the area to the control of this Department upon payment of arrears of taxes.

Fort Langley, B.C.

Original fort built in 1827. Was the first Hudson's Bay Company establishment north of Fort George. A trading post during early days and the birthplace of the colony of British Columbia. Abandoned in 1890. Only one building, which is close to the Fraser river and alongside the Canadian National Railway, remains. Acquisition of site pending.

The following sites have been recommended by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board for action and will be suitably marked in due course:—

MARITIME PROVINCES

Fort Monckton, near Port Elgin, N.B.
Fort Lawrence, near Amherst, N.S.
Battlefield of Grand Pré, near Grand Pré, N.S.
Landing-place of United Empire Loyalists, St. John, N.B.

QUEBEC

St. Maurice Forges, near Three Rivers.
Battlefield of Three Rivers, at Three Rivers.
Fort Laprairie, at Laprairie.
Hochelaga, at Montreal.
Fort Crevier, St. François du Lac.
Battle of de Repentigny.
Chateauguay Battlefield and Blockhouse, Allan's Corners.
Battlefield of Lacolle and Lacolle Blockhouse, Lacolle.
Gaspé, landing place of Jacques Cartier.
Fort Remy, near Montreal.
Fort Sorel, Sorel.
Fort Longueuil, Longueuil.
Fort Gentilly, above Lachine.
Fort Cuillerier, below Lachine.
Fort Rolland, near Lachine.
Fort Verdun, near Montreal.
Fort Senneville, at Senneville.
Fort Charlesbourg Royal, Cap Rouge.
Arbre-à-la-Croix, near Cap Madeleine.
Battlefield of Rivière des Prairies, (Coulee Groulx).
Lachenaie, near Terrebonne.
Fort St. John, St. John.
Fort Ste. Therese, near St. John.
Fort Maisonneuve, at Point Calliere, Montreal.
Three Rivers Massacre, Platon and Fort at Three Rivers.
Odelltown.

EASTERN ONTARIO

Old Simcoe Building, Kingston.
Glengarry House, near Cornwall.
Glengarry Cairn, near South Lancaster.
Fort Wellington, Prescott.
Gananoque.
Fort Levis, Batteries at Adam's Point, near Cardinal.
Fort Cataraqui or Frontenac, Kingston.

WESTERN ONTARIO

Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas.
Mission of Ste. Marie I, near Midland.
Chippewa Battlefield, near Niagara Falls.
Frenchman's Creek Battlefield, near Bridgetown.
Vrooman's Battery, near Queenston.
Cook's Mills, near Welland.

Three Rivers, Que., in 1760.

69688—71½

Fort George, near Niagara.
Battlefield of Beechwoods or Beaver Dam, near Thorold.
Battlefield of Ridgeway, near Fort Erie.
Tête du Pont Battery, near Chippewa.
Weishun's Redoubt, near Willoughby.
Navy Island Shipyard, near Chippewa.
Sault Ste. Marie (Lock Site).
Port Arthur.
Fort William.
Point de Meuron, near Fort William.
Fort Nottawasaga, near Stayner.
Brock's Route (Port Dover to Detroit).
Glengarry Landing, near Edenvale.
Fort St. Joseph, near Richard's Landing.

WESTERN CANADA

Fort Livingstone, Manitoba.
Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill, Manitoba.
Clark's Crossing, Saskatchewan.
Fort Pitt, Saskatchewan.
Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, British Columbia.

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THE ANNUAL MEETING

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

In opening this second annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, it is my purpose merely to put before you, as briefly as possible, some of the matters that have engaged our attention since the last annual meeting.

OUTLINE LECTURES IN CANADIAN HISTORY

This project, you will remember, was discussed at our last meeting. The idea is that the association should have prepared, by competent hands, a series of outline lectures each devoted to some phase or part of Canadian history. The outlines would be for the use of high school teachers and others capable of developing them into lectures. They should strike the happy medium between a mere skeleton and a fully-developed lecture. They are intended, in fact, to furnish the groundwork upon which a lecture may be built. We supply the material, and the lecturer clothes it in his own language. Each outline would be accompanied by a set of slides, and other illustrative equipment, if the subject should lend itself to that sort of treatment. It is believed that in this way the association could do a very useful and patriotic piece of work, in breaking down a lot of mistaken ideas that have crept into the popular conception of Canadian history, and building up in their place, in the minds of both Canadians and others, sound ideas of the history of this country.

I need not remind you that this scheme, developed in a comprehensive way—and it is hardly worth attempting unless we plan to cover all the important aspects of Canadian history—involves an expenditure far beyond the means of this association. We can only hope to succeed by enlisting the co-operation of governmental agencies, in reproducing the outlines in print or some other convenient form, and in preparing sets of lantern slides, motion picture reels, etc. I believe I am justified in saying that we already have the warm support of the Public Archives of Canada, the National Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior, and the Natural Resources Intelligence Service. The only obstacle that may for a time stand in the way of their fullest co-operation is the policy of rigid economy that has been imposed upon all the departments of the Dominion service. We are already indebted to the Public Archives for assistance in getting together material for slides; to the Natural Resources Service for the making of negatives and slides; and to the National Parks

Branch and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for gifts of motion picture reels.

A good deal of time has been devoted during the past few months to the carrying out of a survey of available sources of material for slides, not only in such obvious collections of historical pictures as the Public Archives, the Chateau de Ramezay and the John Ross Robertson collection in the Toronto Public Library, but also in other less known places. It is abundantly clear that we shall not lack material to illustrate the outline lectures, if we can make arrangements to have it reproduced in the form of slides. We already have in Ottawa several hundred slides, covering to some extent such fields as early exploration in both Eastern and Western Canada, the history of New France, the western fur trade, early means of transportation, the Indians and the Eskimo, animal life and the physical features of the country. The material for these has been drawn mainly from the Public Archives, the National Parks Branch and the Paul Kane collection in the Royal Ontario Museum. This is of course merely a nucleus of the collection that we shall need to illustrate the outline lectures; and it must not be forgotten that for every lecture we shall need several sets of slides.

As to the outlines themselves, that is of course the branch of the scheme for which this association is directly responsible. I am glad to say that we have already made this much progress—a tentative list of eighteen subjects has been prepared, and in each case a Canadian scholar thoroughly familiar with the subject has been asked to undertake the preparation of an outline lecture.

The following is a list of the subjects, and of those who have undertaken to prepare the outlines. In some cases, where the writer was already overwhelmed with work, he has accepted this patriotic task on the understanding that it would have to await the completion of other commitments.

Arthur G. Doughty	Siege of Quebec, 1759.
George M. Wrong	The Fall of New France.
Charles W. Colby	Frontenac.
Ægidius Fauteux	Founding of Montreal.
Chester Martin	Red River Colony.
Basil Williams	Growth of Responsible Government.
J. C. Webster	Siege of Louisbourg.
W. S. Wallace	Loyalists in Upper Canada.
O. D. Skelton	The Canada Company.
F. W. Howay	Sir James Douglas.
A. MacMechan	Story of Halifax.
Gustave Lanctot	Jacques Cartier.

D. A. McArthur..... The Quebec Act.
L. J. Burpee..... The North West Company.

We also asked Hon. Thomas Chapais, Col. William Wood, Pierre-Georges Roy, and Mgr. A. E. Gosselin, to undertake the subjects of Montcalm, the Naval War of 1812, Early Days of Quebec, and Champlain, respectively, but they have not yet felt at liberty to do so. Perhaps we may be able to enlist their co-operation at some later date.

DICTIONARY OF CANADIAN HISTORY

I have been in correspondence with a number of Canadian historians and historical students and teachers, as to the desirability and practicability of preparing such a work of reference. The idea was that it might be carried out as a co-operative scheme, the more important topics at any rate being prepared by those most competent to write upon each particular subject. As to the desirability of such a dictionary, I find no differences of opinion. Every one who has been consulted agrees that a Dictionary of Canadian History is one of the most needed works of reference. The practicability of undertaking it as a co-operative scheme is still in the air. The difficulty is the same that stands in the way of so many similar projects; the men most competent to do the work are already committed to a great many other duties, and do not feel justified in adding another burden to their load. However, the scheme is still alive, and some way will be found of turning it into a reality.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ATLAS

You will not have forgotten that this matter was brought before the association at the last annual meeting. It is one of several projects which the association has before it, involving considerable expenditures. Like these others, it is a very important and desirable piece of work; but the mere fact that it cannot be carried out without ample funds, forces us to go slowly. With our present income, the only practical way of publishing such a work of reference is by securing financial support from government sources; and the present moment is a peculiarly inopportune time to ask either the Dominion or Provincial Governments for money. It is improbable that any publisher would undertake it as a private venture, as it would be expensive to produce and the market is limited. Therefore we must keep it before us as a project to be taken up at the earliest practicable opportunity.

In the meantime, Professor MacMechan has been good enough to outline roughly his ideas as to the appropriate steps to be taken in preparing such an Historical Atlas. He says:—

"The first step would be the formation of an extensive committee of selection, composed of leading historians from each province. These would submit suggestions to a central committee, small and with editorial powers. This editorial committee would sift and winnow the material. It would have to be brought within reasonable limits—say 200 pages, the format being fairly large, flat and thin, in short something like a geography.

"These 200 pages should include:—

"1. Pictures by good artists, of scenes in Canadian history. I should insist on their esthetic value.

"2. Portraits of the chief actors in the drama, with signatures; spurious portraits rigorously excluded.

"3. Scenes from the life of the various provinces: fishing, lumbering, harvesting, etc., early views of cities, etc."

MACKENZIE NATIONAL PARK

There has been brought to the attention of the association a proposal for the creation of a National Park at Bella Coola, on the Pacific coast, to include the historic spot where Alexander Mackenzie first reached salt water on his memorable expedition overland to the Pacific in 1793. It is represented that this park would not only form a very appropriate memorial to the great explorer, but that it would also contain all the essentials of a National park; glorious scenery in mountain, forest and waterways; fishing, mountain-climbing, salt and fresh water bathing and hot springs; mountain goats, bears, and other wild life; petroglyphs and other records of Indian life, past and present. With the park was associated a proposal for a highway or motor road, to follow in part the route of Mackenzie down to the sea, and connect at its eastern end with existing motor highways.

The suggestion, it is understood, has been before the National Parks Branch at Ottawa, and also before the Government of British Columbia. The attitude of the latter Government is of course a very important consideration, as the first step would be the transfer of such lands as might be required for the park from the province to the Dominion. There is reason to believe that the British Columbia authorities are not yet prepared to consider favourably the transfer of lands for a park, but might be willing to convey to the Dominion a smaller area near Bella Coola to be set apart as a National site in commemoration of Mackenzie's expedition. This at any rate would be a step in the right direction; and the creation of a park at some future time might reasonably be expected to follow. It would not be inappropriate for this association to put itself on record as favouring the creation of a National park, and failing that, a National site.

PETROGLYPHS NEAR BELLA COOLA

In this connection, it is very desirable that steps should be taken to preserve certain petroglyphs, or Indian sculptured figures, on the rocks a mile south of Bella Coola river and at other points in the same area. Probably this could be arranged for in connection with the Mackenzie National Site.

HISTORIC SITES

We also ascertained that there existed in the neighbourhood of the town of Macleod, Alberta, a very characteristic and striking buffalo pound, which had been in use for many generations among the Indians of the western plains. The matter was taken up with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, and we were advised that this is one of the sites recommended for preservation or marking, and that steps were being taken to that end.

Complaints having been received as to the condition of the old military burying-ground at Chambly, representations were made to the Historic Sites Board, and we were advised that this cemetery had now been put under the control of the Department of the Interior, and would be looked after as part of the Fort Chambly National Site.

Other similar matters that were brought to the attention of the Historic Sites Board were the marking of the old North West Company's post at Kamloops, and the preservation of the bastion of the old fort at Nanaimo. No action has so far been taken on these suggestions, so far as we are aware.

INDIAN VILLAGE IN STANLEY PARK

It is pleasant to record the efforts of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, toward the erection of a typical Indian village in Stanley park. The village will comprise three lodges, to be carved and painted inside and outside by Indian artists; and before these will stand a number of totem poles. A suitable site has been placed at the disposal of the association, and some of the totem poles are already in position.

PARKMAN CENTENARY

In November last the centenary of the birth of Francis Parkman was celebrated at Montreal. The celebration took the form of a very successful meeting, at which addresses were delivered by Sir Arthur Currie, M. Jules Jusserand, the French Ambassador at Washington, Dr. Bliss Perry of Harvard, Ægidius Fauteux of the St. Sulpice Library, Montreal, and Dr. Charles W. Colby, the well-

known Canadian historian. The Brassard Choir of Montreal sang a number of the inimitable old folk songs of French Canada.

At the same time, a very interesting exhibit of Parkman material was held in the Museum of McGill University Library, including relics of the historian, manuscripts, corrected proofs, autographed copies of his books, and a great deal of material bearing upon the history of the period that one associates with the name of Parkman. Material for the exhibit was loaned by the Public Archives of Canada, Harvard University, the Library of St. Sulpice, the Massachusetts Historical Society and Brown University.

As a permanent memorial to Parkman, the committee responsible for the commemoration proposed a fund to endow scholarships tenable at any of the Canadian universities or at the Public Archives in Ottawa by students making a special study of Canadian history; and to assist in the publication of meritorious works on Canadian history.

It may interest you to know that the committee, of which Sir Arthur Currie was chairman, was an unusually representative one, including representatives of all the principal Canadian colleges and learned societies, the Prime Minister and several other members of the Cabinet, the Leader of the Opposition, the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament, the Premiers of nearly all the provinces, and a number of other men prominent in the public and business life of the country. This association was represented directly by Mr. Pemberton Smith, Mr. George Iles, and myself, and indirectly by several others who also represented other organizations.

A pamphlet containing a full report of the addresses at the Montreal meeting has recently been issued by the committee and McGill University.

REPRESENTATIVES AT OTHER MEETINGS

This association was represented at the last annual meeting of the American Historical Association, in December last, by Prof. Basil Williams, of McGill University, and Prof. D. A. McArthur, of Queen's University, who conveyed to our American friends and fellow-workers our most friendly greetings and wishes for their continued success.

I had the privilege of representing the association at a most interesting meeting in September, 1923, to commemorate the heroic work of the Jesuit Fathers on the shores of Georgian bay. Memorials erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board were unveiled, and a number of stimulating addresses were given by Brig.-Gen. Cruikshank, Father Devine, of St. Mary's College, Dr. Coyne, Mr. Biggar, of the Public Archives, and others.

NEWSPAPERS AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL

Our attention was drawn not long ago to the fact that an opportunity offered to secure for preservation a complete file of a long-established Canadian newspaper. Even if it was the province of such an association as ours to preserve such material, we have at the present time no quarters either for a library or office purposes, and if we had, the price at which this file of newspapers is held would be far beyond our means. The matter has been turned over to the Public Archives for consideration.

There can, of course, be no question as to the importance of preserving files of our principal newspapers, particularly those that have been in existence for many years. They are invaluable as sources of historical material. In fact the vital necessity of getting them into some place where they will be safe from vandalism has been emphasized recently by an incident that one is almost ashamed as a Canadian to record. It appears that one of our members had occasion not long ago to consult the files of one of the oldest of Canadian newspapers, for information that could not very well be obtained elsewhere. On applying at the office, he was told that the old files of the paper had recently been destroyed, as the space they occupied was needed for other purposes. The contrast is rather singular. The proprietors of one newspaper hold their set at a practically prohibitive price; while those of another wantonly destroy a set that the Public Archives, McGill University Library, or any other similar institution would most gladly have accepted for preservation, either as a gift or on loan. This is one of the ways in which historical material of incalculable value is lost to Canada and to the world.

PERMANENT QUARTERS FOR THE ASSOCIATION

The fact that we have at the present time no quarters either for office or library purposes, or for executive or other meetings, has already been alluded to. It is to be hoped that some means may be found of remedying this situation. For obvious reasons, and particularly because of the presence there of the Public Archives, Ottawa seems to be the most suitable place for the headquarters of the association. Unfortunately our means do not at present admit of renting suitable rooms, but possibly some other way may be found of getting over the difficulty.

REVENUE

The treasurer will put before you a statement of the finances of the association. It has been our policy to keep the annual fees

down to a minimum, so that no one who is interested in the objects of the association will be prevented from joining on the score of expense. At the same time, if we are to carry out any of the ambitious schemes that have been put before you, we must have a larger revenue, either in the form of endowments or annual grants from the Dominion or Provincial Governments. Some steps have already been taken by your executive toward that end, but so far without success. Success will come in time.

NEW MEMBERS

It is gratifying to report that while 45 new members, including a life member, were added in 1922-23, we have gained 109 in 1923-24—for the most part within the last few months. In these are included five organizations and 104 individuals. Of the latter, 49 are from Quebec, 36 from Ontario, 9 from British Columbia, 5 from New Brunswick, 3 from Nova Scotia and 2 from Manitoba. There are 37 French and 12 English from Quebec, and 31 English and 5 French from Ontario. It will be seen, therefore, that the association is growing as we would have it, members coming from all the provinces, and from both the races which for the most part make up our population. We are also getting the type of members that is most needed, men and women who are really interested in the objects for which the association was created.

DECEASED MEMBERS

On the other hand, we must lament the loss of several of our old members, who were loyal friends and who all took a keen interest in the work of the association. Notable among these was E. C. Whitney, one of our life members, a man who had earned the respect of everyone both because of his generous support of all good causes and because he was in best possible sense a good citizen. We have also lost Sir Edmund Walker, who was not only eminent as a banker and publicist, but also as a student of Canadian history; Dr. Otto Klotz, astronomer, an authority on Canadian boundary questions, and a most kindly gentleman; J. Castell Hopkins, a well known writer on historical and other questions, and editor of that invaluable annual, the *Canadian Annual Review*; James Hope, the veteran Ottawa bookseller; Lawrence Fortesque, who was a mine of information on the early history of the west and the Mounted Police; and H. C. Mott, of Brooklyn, N.Y., a warm friend of the association. The usual resolutions will, I presume, be submitted to you.

CANADIAN HISTORY SOCIETY

Sir Campbell Stuart is, it is understood, at present in Canada for the purpose of organizing a Canadian branch of this society, of which branches have already been established in England and France. The particular objects of the society are to "maintain an interest in the Canada of to-day among the descendants of those who have contributed to the upbuilding of its institutions; to ensure the preservation of historical records relating to Canada, and to render them available to the society for the purpose of its publications; to publish in a series of volumes biographies of those who have by their services contributed to the history of the country; and to endeavour by research to discover historical sources."

As an organization working in the same general field to which we are devoted, this association wishes the Canadian History Society every possible success, and offers its co-operation wherever that may be found practicable. In saying this, I feel sure that I am voicing the wishes of the members of the Canadian Historical Association.

UNIQUE QUEBEC

Finally, I should like to express my own personal appreciation of the delightfully characteristic manner in which Colonel William Wood has brought together the many facts and conditions that make this most picturesque old town of Quebec unique in Canada, in America and in some respects in the world. In dedicating his pamphlet to the Canadian Historical Association, as well as to the Royal Society of Canada, he has paid us a compliment to which we cannot be insensible.

The pamphlet is published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and I should like to express, on behalf of this association, our satisfaction in having the opportunity of meeting here with that most venerable of Canadian societies, our appreciation of the splendid work they have done in the past for Canadian history and are still doing, and our warmest congratulations on the completion of a century of achievement. Let us hope that the society may see not only many more years but many more centuries of equally useful and patriotic effort.

86025—2

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC LANDMARKS

Your committee desire to report progress. For the past year, they have been considering the establishment of a permanent record of the location of historic sites all through the Dominion. In a rapidly growing country like Canada, cases are unfortunately too frequent where the actual location of the site where some outstanding historic event took place, has been lost to memory. An instance is the spot where Dollard's fort actually stood at Carillon. No data has been found available to locate this.

The actual spot where Jacques Cartier landed on Isle-aux-Coudres in 1535 has been the subject of lively discussions. Few living people can locate the old " Parliament House " in Montreal, burnt in 1849. Unfortunately, old buildings and old sites get " swallowed up " fairly rapidly by the growth of modern cities.

It is the purpose of your committee to carry on and expand the " Card Index " first set up by our very enthusiastic member, Mrs. J. B. Simpson, and to endeavour to encourage our members all through the Dominion to send in reliable data as to exact locations, so that, in the future, when our association, or the various Sites Board, decide to set up a memorial in some city where it is badly needed, there may be available from this branch the proper data to show exactly where the memorial ought to be erected.

PEMBERTON SMITH, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
For the Year Ending April 30, 1924

Receipts—

Balance in the Bank of Montreal, May 24, 1923	$ 367 33
Annual subscriptions	840 86
Bank interest	3 27
	$1,211 46

Expenditures—

Printing (circular letters and stationery)	$ 111 28
Expenses of annual meeting	66 20
Secretary-treasurer's allowance for expenses	200 00
The Francis Parkman Centenary	100 00
The Canadian Historical Association lecture scheme (Lantern slides, equipment, etc.)	223 81
Postage and sundries	52 44
Balance in the Bank of Montreal, April 30, 1924	457 73
	$1,211 46

C. M. BARBEAU,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct:
Jas. F. Cunningham,
Auditor.

86025—2½

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING AT QUEBEC, MAY 23-24, 1924

The annual meeting of the association was held in Quebec city, on Friday and Saturday, May 23 and 24.

On the evening of May 23 the annual Popular Lecture was given before a large audience in the Promotion Hall of Laval University. The lecturer was Mr. Ægidius Fauteux, of the Saint-Sulpice Library, Montreal, and his subject, the life of Montcalm in Canada.

At the morning and afternoon meetings of May 24, the following members were present, and they inscribed their names in the official record of the Society:—

Mr. J. C. Sutherland (representing the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec), Prof. W. T. Waugh (the Montreal Historical Association), M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère (the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal), Miss Frances M. Staton (the Toronto Public Library), Mrs. I. C. McLimont (Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire), Prof. Archibald MacMechan (Historical Association of Annapolis Royal), Mme. E. C. Pourtier (the Women's Canadian Historical Association of Ottawa), Professor Leo Harvey (the University of New Brunswick), Col. M. G. Marquis (La Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres de Québec), Hon. F. W. Howay (the British Columbia Historical Association), MM. Cyrille Tessier, Philippe Angers, Prof. Arthur S. Morton (University of Saskatchewan), Chanoine Emile Chartier (Université de Montreal), Pierre-Georges Roy, Alphonse Gagnon, Joseph Dumais, Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, Georges Bellerive, Francis J. Audet, J.-A. Corriveau, John Hamilton, Henry Iwers, Pemberton Smith, Hon. Thomas Chapais, Lawrence J. Burpee, J. F. Kenney, R. W. Brock (the University of British Columbia), C. Marius Barbeau, and others.

The papers and addresses given, after the presentation of the reports of the treasurer and the Landmarks Committee, were the following:—

The Presidential Address, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee;

M. Philippe Angers, "L'Invasion de Québec par Arnold";

Professor Leo Harvey, a short explanation of the Paget Colour process, and its practical importance in the preparation of coloured lantern slides for lectures on history;

Professor W. T. Waugh, on "Shakespeare's Henry V in the Light of Recent Research";

Miss Frances M. Staton, on the Rebellion of 1837 and its bibliography;

Professor William H. Atherton, on "The Study of Local History"; in the absence of the author this paper was read by Judge F. W. Howay;

Col. William Wood, on the Yale University scheme for the illustration of national history, especially by means of motion pictures, and sets of other pictures;

M. Georges Marquis, sur "Les guides historiques et l'Ancien Québec," avec vues;

Mr. Harlan I. Smith, on "The end of Mackenzie's overland route to the Pacific"; with illustrations; in the absence of the author, this paper was read by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee;

M. C. Marius Barbeau, on "Temlaham, an Indian Paradise Lost in northern British Columbia," also with illustrations.

Reports on the activities of the affiliated societies were then presented by their representatives.

Professor Archibald MacMechan while commenting on the work of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, and describing some of the interesting features of the local historical museum, extended his review to the origin and growth of historical research in Nova Scotia, particularly in the form of county history.

Messrs. J. C. Sutherland and William Wood spoke on behalf of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and the commemoration of the society's hundredth anniversary by means of a book entitled "Unique Quebec" and presented to all the members of the Canadian Historical Association on the occasion of its annual meeting.

Judge F. W. Howay spoke on behalf of the British Columbia Historical Association, and mentioned the construction of an Indian village with totem poles in Stanley park and the erection of a monument to the memory of Captain Cook, in Nootka sound;

Professor Leo Harvey, stated that the New Brunswick Historical Society may soon resume its activities, principally through its affiliation with the Natural Science and History Society, and the initiation of a province-wide movement towards the study of local history;

Professor Arthur S. Morton described the recent work of the Saskatchewan Historical Society, and mentioned the existence of four groups within his province whose chief purpose was to collect data on the history of the province, these groups being located in Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Regina, and Battleford;

Professor W. T. Waugh explained that the new Montreal Historical Society, founded by Professor Basil Williams, has been very active in the past year; the interest of its many members has been aroused by means of meetings, lectures, expeditions, and various investigations;

M. Georges Marquis reported on the work of the Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres de Québec, which consists of a series of from ten

to fifteen lectures every year and the publication of its monthly magazine "Le Terroir;"

M. M. Boucher de La Bruère stated that the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society was unusually active last winter, that monthly lectures were given as a consequence and special meetings held, that the Chateau de Ramesay collection has been materially increased, and that the city of Montreal has spent on the Chateau itself a fairly large sum for repairs and improvement;

Dr. Coyne spoke of the three anniversaries in which the Elgin Scientific and Historical Institute this year took an active part.

The following resolutions were then brought forward and approved:—

Moved by J. C. Sutherland and seconded by Professor Archibald MacMechan—That the address of the president be enthusiastically supported by the members of this association for its constructive ideas, and that the report of the treasurer be accepted;

Proposé par Montarville Boucher de La Bruère, et secondé par J.-Eugène Corriveau—Que la Société historique du Canada exprime le vœu, après avoir entendu la causerie de M. G. E. Marquis, que les autorités locales, à Québec, prennent tous les moyens à leur disposition pour assurer à la Cité de Champlain la perennité de son cachet historique, et pour conserver ses édifices et ses monuments d'un autre âge; de plus que les autorités fédérales soient priées de remettre à la Commission des Champs de Bataille nationaux le soin et l'entretien des fortifications qui sont sur le point de tomber en ruine; et que cette résolution soit adressée à qui de droit par le Secrétaire de la Société historique du Canada;

Proposé par Georges Bellerive et secondé par Pemberton Smith—Qu'une croix soit élevée en la mémoire du mouillage des vaisseaux de Jacques Cartier—la Grande Hermine, la Petite Hermine et l'Emérillon —à l'endroit maintenant connu sous le nom de "Mouillage des Anglais," à l'Ile-aux-Coudres;

Moved by Judge F. W. Howay and seconded by Lawrence J. Burpee—That the Dominion Government be requested in the name of this association to consider the advisability of establishing a federal park in the neighbourhood of Bella Coola (British Columbia) to commemorate the expedition of Alexander Mackenzie to the Pacific coast in 1793, the culmination of the long search for an overland route to the sea;

Moved by Professor Archibald MacMechan and seconded by l'abbé Ivanhoë Caron—That the legendary and historical landmarks of the Upper Skeena river, as set forth in Mr. Barbeau's paper on *Temlaham, an Indian Paradise Lost*, be suitably commemorated by

the Federal Government, and that an effort be made to preserve the totem poles and Indian grave-yard villages, particularly on account of their unusual value for tourist purposes;

Moved by J. C. Sutherland and seconded by M. Boucher de La Bruère—That the thanks of the Canadian Historical Association be conveyed to the Department of the Interior, Parks Branch, for the publication of the Annual Report of the Association for 1923;

Moved by Professor W. T. Waugh and seconded by C. M. Barbeau—That this association express its gratitude to the Quebec Literary and Historical Association and to Colonel William Wood for the gift of the interesting *vade-mecum* "Unique Quebec" to its members, and for other marks of courtesy in the course of its annual meeting;

Moved by Colonel William Wood and seconded by J. F. Kenney —That this association wishes to record its sorrow at the death of Mr. E. C. Whitney, one of its life members, which occurred in Ottawa, early in the spring of 1924, and to instruct the secretary to convey its sympathy to his bereaved widow, Mrs. E. C. Whitney, also one of its life members;

Moved by Dr. James Coyne and seconded by P.-Georges Roy— That this association wishes to record its regret at the death of J. Castell Hopkins, Lawrence Fortescue, James Hope, Dr. Otto Klotz, H. C. Mott, and Sir Edmund Walker, whose names appeared on the list of annual members, and that a copy of the motion be forwarded to the bereaved relatives;

Moved by Judge F. W. Howay and seconded by Pemberton Smith—That Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee be re-elected President of the Canadian Historical Association;

Moved by J. C. Sutherland and seconded by M. Boucher de La Bruère—That Dr. A. C. Doughty be elected to the office of Vice-President of this association;

Moved by W. T. Waugh and seconded by Dr. James Coyne— That M. C. Marius Barbeau be re-elected to the office of Secretary-Treasurer;

Moved by A. S. Morton and seconded by G. Marquis—That Mr. J. F. Kenney be elected to the office of English Editor;

Moved by M. Boucher de La Bruère and seconded by J. C. Sutherland—That M. Gustave Lanctot be elected to the office of French Editor;

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by A. S. Morton— That M. Pierre-Georges Roy, of the Provincial Archives, Quebec, Professor George M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto, Professor Chester Martin, of the University of Manitoba, Professor

Archibald MacMechan, of Dalhousie University, Judge F. W. Howay, of the Law Courts, New Westminster, B.C., and Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, be elected to the office of members of the Council;

Moved by William Wood and seconded by J. C. Sutherland—That Mr. Pemberton Smith, Judge Howay, M. Ægedius Fauteux, Mrs. J. B. Simpson and Professor A. S. Morton constitute the Standing Committee on Historical Landmarks, with power to add to their numbers, the first-named to be chairman;

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by Judge Howay—That Colonel J. F. Cunningham be thanked for his services as auditor in the past year, and be re-elected to the same office;

Proposé par Alphonse Gagnon et secondé par Georges Bellerive—Que les remerciements de cette association soient adressés à ses dignitaires sortant de charge pour l'exercice consciencieux de leurs devoirs pendant l'année qui vient de s'achever;

Judge F. W. Howay then moved that the meeting be adjourned.

C. MARIUS BARBEAU.
Secretary.

MONTCALM

BY

ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX

La Société Historique du Canada, en choisissant de tenir, cette année, ses assises à Québec, a été, je le crois, heureusement inspirée. La vieille cité de Champlain est à la source même de l'histoire canadienne et il n'est certes pas d'endroit où une société qui se constitue gardienne du passé puisse trouver à son culte pieux un aliment à la fois plus abondant et plus pur. Dans ces murs, il n'est presque pas une pierre à laquelle ne soit encore attaché quelque lambeau d'histoire glorieuse et sur ces dalles le voyageur ne peut pour ainsi dire pas s'aventurer un instant sans qu'au seul bruit de ses pas, il ne parte, du fronton des églises ou du faîte des vieux ormes, un bruissement d'ailes qui n'est autre que l'envol émouvant des souvenirs.

Parmi ces souvenirs, il en est deux qui ne se séparent jamais et qui devaient plaire tout particulièrement à la Société Historique canadienne, parce qu'ils symbolisent d'une façon merveilleuse ce dualisme national qu'une destinée singulière a établi chez nous sans nuire à l'unité du Canada et qui, entre autres avantages, a celui d'apparenter à peu près également notre histoire à celle de deux peuples illustres par-dessus tous: la France et l'Angleterre. Ce sont, vous l'avez deviné sans peine, les souvenirs de Wolfe et de Montcalm. Ces deux héros, tombés sur le même champ de bataille, le premier au sein du triomphe et le second au sein de la défaite, ont été ensevelis dans une gloire égale, et, depuis cent soixante-cinq ans, le monde n'a jamais cessé de confondre dans une même et respectueuse admiration et le vainqueur et le vaincu. La Société Historique du Canada a cru qu'il lui seyait de leur rendre à son tour un hommage commun dans cette même ville de Québec qu'ils dominent de toute la hauteur de leur immortel sacrifice.

Une voix autorisée devait vous parler tout à l'heure de Wolfe. Mais l'on vient de nous apprendre qu'une circonstance malheureuse l'en empêche.

J'ai accepté, quoique indigne, de vous parler de Montcalm. Cela est quelque peu téméraire, et j'en conviens. Comme vous tous, je voudrais que l'honorable M. Chapais fût ce soir à ma place. Personne assurément n'est autant qualifié pour célébrer dignement le glorieux vaincu des Plaines d'Abraham que l'intègre biographe qui, par un livre d'une rare érudition et d'une incomparable probité, a si magistralement dissipé les dernières ombres que quelques esprits prévenus laissaient encore planer sur sa mémoire et je n'ai pas besoin de dire que, grâce à sa chaude éloquence, il l'eût fait de façon peut-être plus décisive encore par la voix que par la plume. Malheureusement pour

Montcalm, pour vous et pour moi, il n'était pas possible d'imposer cette tâche à M. Chapais que réclamaient d'autres devoirs et que vous avez vu cette semaine présider avec tant de tact et avec tant d'éclat aux sessions de la Société Royale, et moi-même, engagé pour ainsi dire à sa place, je ne peux que le prendre modestement pour guide.

Je n'oublie pas non plus que je parle à un auditoire québecois qui se souvient et pour qui notre histoire a bien peu de secrets. Comme vous êtes en même temps très courtois, de cette courtoisie d'autrefois dont Québec est encore le refuge dernier, vous vous résignerez donc, comme Montcalm le fit lui-même souvent, à vous laisser apprendre beaucoup de choses que vous savez très bien, par quelqu'un qui les sait assurément moins bien.

Le panégyrique a ses écueils que l'on ne sait pas toujours éviter, l'imagination, nous dit Fléchier, y ayant souvent plus de part que la raison. C'est ainsi que, dans leur enthousiasme mal mesuré, certains prédicateurs s'évertuent à prouver que le saint de leur paroisse est le nec plus ultra des célestes phalanges. Croyez que, pour ma part, je n'ai aucunement l'intention, à propos de Montcalm, d'établir un palmarès de l'histoire canadienne et de faire entre nos héros une distribution de places. Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas de commune mesure qui puisse exactement s'appliquer à la taille morale des grands hommes. Nous avons la fierté de compter le long de notre histoire plusieurs de ces êtres surhumains qui, par leurs exploits diversement héroïques, ont mérité d'entrer de plain-pied dans l'immortalité, mais par cela même qu'ils sont différents, il serait bien inutile de rechercher lequel est le plus grand. Ce que j'oserai dire cependant, c'est que, si certains de nos héros, même parmi les plus glorieux, comme La Salle, d'Iberville et Frontenac, ont laissé paraître des défauts que seule peut réussir à pallier notre admiration pour leur extraordinaire énergie, il y en a, d'autre part, qui ont su joindre à la grandeur de leurs actes une beauté d'âme véritable et qui, à cause de cela, commandent une admiration à peu près sans mélange. Montcalm est de ceux-là, à côté d'un Champlain et d'un Maisonneuve, ces deux paladins dignes des temps d'épopée. Et je veux essayer de l'établir en montrant ce que fut chez Montcalm, premièrement, l'homme et secondement, le soldat.

Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, seigneur de Saint-Véran, Candiac, Tournemine, Vestric et baron de Gabriac, naquit le 29 janvier 1712, au château de Candiac, près de Nîmes, mais d'une famille originaire du Rouergue. Il était de la plus ancienne noblesse, se rattachant à une non moindre illustration que Dieudonné de Gozon, le grand-maître de l'ordre de Malte, vainqueur du dragon. Dès sa plus tendre enfance, ses parents le placèrent entre les mains

d'un éducateur assez original du nom de Dumas qui avait imaginé un système nouveau d'enseignement et qui ne rêvait que d'en faire l'expérience *in animâ nobili*. Il ne fallut que sept ans à ce même précepteur pour tuer un frère plus jeune de Montcalm qui, à trente mois, connaissait toutes ses lettres, à trois ans, lisait le français et le latin et à six ans lisait le grec et l'hébreu. Notre héros, qui pouvait mieux se défendre, ayant été entrepris un peu plus âgé, refusa de se soumettre à ce mortel gavage et voici ce qu'il écrivait dès sa seizième année à son père, en réponse aux plaintes découragées de Dumas:

> " Permettez-moi de dire en peu de mots de quoi je me flatte: 1° d'être honnête homme, de bonnes mœurs, brave et bon chrétien; 2° de lire médiocrement, de savoir les langues grecque et latine aussi bien que la plupart des gens du monde, de posséder les quatre règles de l'arithmétique, d'avoir quelques connaissances de l'histoire, de la géographie et des belles-lettres françaises et latines, du moins l'amour de la justesse d'esprit si je ne l'ai pas, et surtout du goût pour les sciences et les arts que j'ignore; 3° ce que je mets au-dessus de tout, de l'obéissance, de la docilité et une grande soumission pour vos ordres et ceux de ma chère mère...; 4° pour venir à ce qui regarde le corps, de faire des armes et monter à cheval autant que mon peu de disposition me le permet."

Comme programme d'éducation, ce n'était déjà pas si mal imaginé pour un jeune homme de seize ans. Et le plus remarquable, c'est que Montcalm s'y est absolument tenu. Il fut toute sa vie ce qu'il avait promis: honnête homme, de bonnes mœurs, brave et bon chrétien.

Honnête homme, il le fut certainement, et de toutes manières, aussi bien dans le sens tout à fait spécial où l'entendaient les moralistes du XVII siècle, Pascal, La Bruyère ou Bossuet, que dans le sens plus strict où l'entendent les moralistes d'aujourd'hui.

Au XVII siècle, l'*honneste* homme était un peu ce qu'avait été le *prudhomme* au temps de saint Louis. L'on avait accoutumé de désigner sous ce nom une habitude d'âme qui, même étymologiquement, dérivait de l'honneur et qui faisait que celui qui l'avait reçue ou conquise répugnait pour ainsi dire instinctivement à toute idée de bassesse et s'élevait au-dessus du vulgaire, tant par le charme des manières que par la culture de l'esprit. Or, Montcalm était par excellence cet être de distinction.

Il avait d'abord, nous l'avons vu, la distinction de la naissance. Quoi qu'on puisse penser aujourd'hui des castes et des privilèges anciens, il n'en est pas moins certain que la fierté des aïeux a souvent été chez les gens de haute race un ferment de grandeur morale, par le

souci même qu'elle leur imposait de ne pas démériter, et Montcalm était encore de ce temps où la devise si française: Noblesse oblige, n'était pas un vain mot. Un jour, dans une lettre d'un mélancolique abandon, il dit son regret de ne s'être pas fait chevalier de Malte pour devenir grand-maître de l'ordre, mais aussitôt il se reprend, comme s'il avait senti l'inanité du rêve, et il ajoute avec un naïf orgueuil tout juste tempéré par une pointe d'ironie: " C'est le sang de Gozon qui coule dans mes veines! " Oui, c'est bien le sang de Gozon qui coule dans les veines de ce chevalier du moyen-âge attardé. Comme son aïeul, il a la passion de la gloire. C'est pour elle qu'il se bat et non pas, comme un reître ou un soudard, pour de l'argent, et si quelques-uns se sont quelquefois scandalisés de l'entendre demander des grâces, ce n'est pas à lui-même qu'il faut s'en prendre, mais à la langue de son temps. La grâce qu'il attend, par exemple, vers 1758, est d'être maréchal de France dans six ans, mais il ne voudra jamais de grâce qu'il ne croira pas avoir méritée. S'il a choisi le métier des armes, ç'a été avec le légitime espoir d'ajouter encore à l'héritage glorieux que lui ont légué ses ancêtres et, avec cette noble ambition au cœur, il n'en a que mieux servi sa patrie.

Comme son aïeul encore, Montcalm a la passion du devoir. Selon un mot d'usage courant dans la langue militaire et dont, à cause de cela peut-être, la sublimité n'est pas assez remarquée, il sert. Il n'examine pas la mission qu'on lui confie, il l'accepte et, une fois qu'il l'a acceptée, il s'y emploie avec toutes ses facultés, avec tout son cœur, avec toute son âme. Et il ne sait pas reculer, surtout s'il y a danger. Après la bataille de Plaisance, où il a été blessé de trois coups de sabre et laissé pour mort sur le terrain, il écrit naïvement à son père: " Si je suis prisonnier et sabré, c'est pour avoir voulu tenir ferme." Mais, dans cet ordre d'idées, je ne sais rien de plus beau dans sa simplicité que le trait suivant que j'emprunte à l'histoire même de la guerre du Canada.

C'était en 1758; après deux ans de mesquins tiraillements, Montcalm n'en pouvait plus. Abreuvé d'avanies de toutes sortes et écœuré des mille petitesses qui l'entouraient, il ne trouvait plus rien qui palliât sa grandissante nostalgie de père et d'époux et il songeait à son retour en France comme à une sorte de libération morale. Sur les entrefaites, les événements se précipitent et Montcalm remporte la triomphale victoire de Carillon. L'occasion lui semble propice, car, après un aussi brillant exploit, personne ne pourra l'accuser de déserter son poste de combat, et il demande aussitôt son rappel. Mais il découvre presque au même moment que le succès de Carillon, si éclatant qu'il soit, n'a causé qu'un désarroi momentané chez un ennemi de plus en plus dangereux, et que, par suite de circonstances aux-

quelles il reste étranger, l'état de la colonie est redevenu plus périlleux que jamais. Alors, le général français n'hésite pas un instant. De la même plume qui demandait son rappel après la glorieuse journée du 8 juillet, il écrit au ministre, le 9 septembre, qu'il n'est plus question de partir et qu'il reste. "Puisque les affaires de la colonie vont mal, dit-il, c'est à moi de tâcher de les réparer et d'en retarder la perte le plus qu'il sera possible." C'est aussi simple que grand. Lecteur assidu de Plutarque, Montcalm, sans s'en douter, avait la grandeur d'âme de ses héros.

Les mémoires du temps nous apprennent que Montcalm était de taille petite. Tout le monde n'a pas comme votre humble serviteur une raison personnelle d'estimer que ce n'est pas là un irrémédiable défaut, mais il suffira de rappeler que la même particularité a distingué un certain Napoléon qui, quoique petit, n'en fut pas moins un assez grand guerrier. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'on rapporte à ce propos qu'un Huron, voyant pour la première fois le marquis de Montcalm, s'écria: "Ah! que tu es petit!" puis reprit brusquement: "mais je vois dans ton regard la hauteur du chêne et la vivacité des aigles." Je ne sais si l'anecdote est vraie, mais elle mérite de l'être car le fils des bois ne pouvait mieux traduire dans son langage imagé les deux traits caractéristiques que je viens de signaler dans notre héros: sa passion du devoir qui le fait ressembler à un chêne étreignant de ses inébranlables racines le sol où il a été planté, sa passion de la gloire qui le fait ressembler à un aigle volant de ses ailes ambitieuses toujours plus haut.

Montcalm avait aussi la distinction de l'esprit. De nature, il possédait déjà des qualités précieuses, mais parce qu'il n'avait pas consenti, malgré les touchantes objurgations du précepteur Dumas, à suivre son jeune frère dans sa dangereuse vocation d'enfant prodige, il n'en avait pas moins travaillé sérieusement et judicieusement à orner son intelligence. Il n'avait pas simplement ces clartés de tout dont parle Molière et qui suffisaient alors à tout homme de condition par ailleurs intelligent pour faire bonne figure même en un cercle de beaux esprits, il était véritablement un lettré. Ce soldat lisait Thucydide ou Sophocle dans le texte et savait plus de grec et de latin que bien des humanistes de nos jours. Aussi sa correspondance abonde-t-elle en réminiscences classiques de toutes sortes et c'est ce qui en fait le charme si particulier avec la finesse de l'observation et le pittoresque de l'expression.

Et toute sa vie Montcalm a gardé le goût des choses de l'esprit. A Québec ou à Montréal, entre campagnes, pendant que les dirigeants de la colonie et même ses officiers se livrent à une sarabande d'amusements effrénée, il se renferme dans sa chambre et il lit— :

> " Je ne vais nulle part, ou du moins si peu que c'est de même, écrit-il en novembre 1758 à son ami Bourlamaque; les jours impairs, je vais faire une ou deux parties de tri avec mon général; les jours pairs, je lis au coin de mon feu. Aussi ai-je entrepris la lecture du Dictionnaire encyclopédique, en sautant les articles que je ne veux pas savoir."

Même le pesant et ennuyeux Dictionnaire encyclopédique apparaissait à Montcalm en compagnon plus joyeux que les pantins à la cervelle vidée qui trop souvent l'entouraient.

Doué d'une rare vivacité d'intelligence qu'avaient encore affinée de sérieuses études, Montcalm avait tout ce qu'il fallait pour briller à la cour au milieu des plus délurés talons rouges, s'il en avait eu la disposition et le goût. L'énigmatique Sieur de C...., qui n'a jamais pris à son endroit le ton d'un panégyriste, nous apprend "qu'il avait beaucoup d'éducation et une mémoire heureuse et que ses conversations étaient pleines d'esprit et de judicieuses saillies." Mais, tandis que chez un trop grand nombre d'autres l'éclat de la surface ne fait que voiler la pauvreté désespérante du fond, il se trouvait heureusement que chez lui le brillant s'alliait avec la solidité, et c'est ce qu'avait bien saisi le judicieux abbé de l'Isle-Dieu lorsqu'il écrivait ce qui suit à Mgr de Pontbriand en lui annonçant l'arrivée prochaine en Canada du nouveau général: "J'ai eu nombre de conférences avec M. de Montcalm qui a l'imagination assez vive, par conséquent beaucoup de sagacité et de pénétration et, ce que j'aime le mieux, le flegme (quand il le faut) et le sérieux de la réflexion."

Mais, peut-être plus encore que la distinction de la naissance et la distinction de l'esprit, Montcalm avait la distinction du cœur, et nous savons tous que c'est par là surtout qu'un homme vaut. Toutes les qualités morales qui inspirent le respect en même temps qu'elles appellent l'affection, il les possédait et à un rare degré: la tendresse, le dévouement, l'esprit de justice et la probité.

On ne peut d'abord nier qu'il fut un tendre. Malgré qu'il eût pris l'habitude de dérober sous un stoïcisme voulu ses sentiments intimes, il n'en laisse pas moins échapper quelquefois, surtout dans sa correspondance avec Bourlamaque, des cris qui nous en font deviner bien long sur la profondeur et sur l'intensité de son affection paternelle. Les nombreuses lettres qu'il a écrites à sa mère ou à sa femme nous en apprendraient assurément là-dessus beaucoup plus encore. Nous ne pouvons trop souhaiter que les Archives fédérales qui en possèdent une copie les mettent bientôt au jour. Le lecteur étonné trouvera un Montcalm nouveau qui n'est pas le moins sympathique ni le moins beau.

Je ne cite qu'un seul trait. On lui annonce un jour rapidement au cours d'une lettre que là-bas, à 1,000 lieues de distance, par delà

l'infranchissable océan, une de ses petites filles est morte, mais on ne lui dit pas laquelle. Et dans son angoisse, il se le demande. "Serait-ce la petite Mariette qui me ressemblait tant?" Il ne devait jamais le savoir ici-bas et il emporta dans sa tombe cette incertitude douloureuse. Ne vous semble-t-il pas que cette courte petite phrase ouvre des horizons immenses sur ce que dut souffrir, dans son cœur, cet époux et ce père que le devoir enchaînait pour un aussi long temps loin d'une famille aimée?

Cette tendresse naturelle qui faisait le fond de son âme, Montcalm ne pouvait manquer de la reporter sur cette autre famille que la Providence lui avait confiée: l'armée. Jamais général ne sut, en effet, vis-à-vis de ses troupes, allier à une discipline plus ferme une plus paternelle bonté. Non seulement il est plein de sollicitude pour ses officiers qu'il protège, et contre autrui lorsqu'ils sont injustement attaqués et contre eux-mêmes, lorsqu'ils s'apprêtent à commettre quelque sottise, mais il a particulièrement à cœur le bien des soldats.

Le 4 juin 1759, il écrit à Bourlamaque: "Assurez bien les troupes et les officiers qui servent sous vos ordres que je serai tout aussi occupé de leur procurer des grâces qu'à ceux qui pourraient combattre sous mes yeux. Je pense comme un père de famille qui aime tous ses enfants; ma conduite jusqu'à présent leur en doit être un sûr garant." Il sait trop la dure condition du soldat et ce que vaut son abnégation même inconsciente pour souffrir qu'il soit en aucune façon injustement traité. C'est ainsi qu'à plusieurs reprises il n'hésite pas à punir sévèrement les officiers qui l'y obligent par leurs injustices envers les troupiers.

D'ailleurs, lorsque la nécessité du service ou les difficultés de l'heure l'obligent à demander à ses soldats quelque nouveau sacrifice, il donne le premier l'exemple, et c'est ce qui fait que tous le suivent avec un si touchant empressement. En campagne, il paye généreusement de sa personne et prend sa large part des fatigues comme du danger. Il n'est pas de ces généraux qui se font porter en litière pendant que les misérables fantassins traînent péniblement leur marche à travers les grands bois. Aux heures critiques il n'abandonne pas son poste un instant et s'il le faut, il reste des semaines entières sanglé et botté. "Je ne me suis pas encore déshabillé depuis le 23 juin", écrit-il à Bourlamaque le 2 septembre 1759. Il ne dut qu'à la mort, onze jour plus tard, de connaître le repos après trois mois de la plus étonnante endurance.

Faut-il, dans un moment de disette, substituer aux autres vivres qui manquent la viande de cheval, Montcalm, avec sa grandeur d'âme coutumière, estime qu'il serait méprisable d'imposer à ses troupes un semblable retranchement sans en prendre sa part. Et le

24 octobre 1757, comme par manière d'invitation discrète à en faire autant, il écrit à Lévis: "Dès qu'on commencera en décembre à donner du cheval au soldat, j'en fais ma provision pour l'hiver et il y en aura toujours chez moi un plat." Et, un peu plus tard, il nous fait connaître le menu suivant de sa table qui n'est pas sans saveur au moins apparente:

Petits pâtés de cheval à l'espagnole.
Cheval à la mode.
Escaloppe de cheval.
Filet de cheval à la broche, avec une poivrade bien liée.
Semelles de cheval au gratin.
Langue de cheval au miroton.
Frigousse de cheval.
Langue de cheval boucanée.
Gâteau de cheval, comme les gâteaux de lièvre.

Heureux temps où il suffisait aux gens de cœur d'avoir en même temps de l'esprit pour donner le change à leur appétit mal satisfait en le payant de mots!

Ce rare dévouement et cet esprit de justice de Montcalm avaient leur source dans une probité qui était chez lui innée et à laquelle il n'a jamais failli. Je note ce tout petit fait qui, au point de vue qui nous intéresse, me paraît extrêmement significatif. M. de Lusignan lui ayant appris que c'est sur la foi d'une information erronée qu'il a accusé un jeune lieutenant de Languedoc d'avoir vendu de l'eau-de-vie, Montcalm écrit aussitôt à Bourlamaque: "Je vous prie de le dire à Pascalis parce que je me souviens de lui avoir parlé de l'accusation; je dois le désabuser et lui faire part de la justification, la probité m'y oblige." L'on peut se demander combien de généraux, préoccupés comme Montcalm par tant d'autres embarras plus grands, auraient eu cette délicatesse envers un modeste officier. Mais cet incident n'indique pas seulement chez notre héros un souci honorable de rendre à qui que ce soit la justice qui lui est due, il indique surtout la profonde horreur qu'il avait à tout acte dérogatoire à la stricte probité.

C'est en effet un point sur lequel le général français n'entendit jamais badinage. Un jour, il apprend que deux de ses officiers ont réclamé deux quarts de farine qu'ils disaient leur avoir été donnés par le garde-magasin en remplacement de rations qu'ils n'avaient pas prises: "Vous pensez bien, écrit-il, que le Roi ne fait pas voiturer à grands frais des vivres à Carillon pour que les officiers les fassent refluer d'où ils sont partis; le décompte de l'officier, en argent, des vivres qu'il ne prend pas, n'a été imaginé que pour la conservation des vivres du magasin du roi... Une autre fois, j'enverrai l'officier en prison pour trois mois dans un fort."

Ce moyen détourné qu'employaient les officiers pour rentrer dans ce qui leur était dû après tout, aurait pu ne constituer aux yeux de bien d'autres qu'une irrégularité peu grave, mais Montcalm, dans sa scrupuleuse probité, tenait à honneur que ses régiments ne fussent pas atteints à leur tour par l'esprit de concussion qui avait déjà gangrené presque tout le reste du pays et il se raidissait de toutes ses forces contre la plaie envahissante. C'était le temps où, sous le haut exemple de Bigot, à peu près tous les officiers volaient le roi sans vergogne, où d'impudents spéculateurs touchaient des certificats de 100,000 livres pour à peine 10,000 livres de marchandises qu'ils avaient vendues, où même un simple ramoneur ne cachait pas sa stupéfaction que, dans la maison de Montcalm, on ne voulût pas lui signer un bon pour 24 cheminées alors qu'il n'en avait ramoné que six. Un homme de la conscience de Montcalm ne pouvait être que navré devant ce carnaval honteux de pillage et de rapine. On le sent assez à lire ces quelques lignes qu'il écrivait en novembre 1758:

> "Les officiers sont occupés de gain et volent comme des mandarins... C'est de quoi pleurer, et je crois que si la guerre dure, il y a à gagner de la perdre... Pardonnez le désordre de ma lettre, il ressemble à celui de mon imagination, car je n'ai pas dormi toute la nuit des voleries de la Belle Rivière... Pauvre Roi! Pauvre France! Cara patria!"

Et pendant que ceux qui l'entouraient s'enrichissaient scandaleusement, Montcalm lui-même, pour tenir son rang, devait manger son bien. En deux ans, nous apprend-il quelque temps avant sa mort, il a dépensé 57,000 livres de son propre patrimoine et il ne peut s'empêcher de frémir pour l'avenir.

Le plus douloureux, c'était que Montcalm était pratiquement impuissant à enrayer cette corruption qui le navrait. Sous l'impérieuse dictée du devoir, il avait bien tenté à quelques reprises de dessiller les yeux de la Cour qui s'obstinait à ne rien voir, mais il n'avait pu le faire, comme il le dit lui-même, qu'avec la modération nécessaire à quelqu'un qui n'a qu'une autorité subordonnée, dans un département d'ailleurs différent, et qui voudrait le bien sans âcreté ni humeur. Ce sera cependant son éternel honneur d'être resté jusqu'à la fin un des rares îlots de vertu et de probité dans cette mer de corruption dévergondée que fut malheureusement le Canada dans les dernières années si mélangées de gloire et d'infamie de notre régime français.

Fidèle toujours au beau programme qu'il s'était tracé en son jeune âge, Montcalm fut encore de bonnes mœurs. Sa dignité de vie au Canada particulièrement contraste fortement avec le débraillé général. Sans doute sa situation et son rang l'obligent à se mêler assez souvent

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à la société frivole au milieu de laquelle il vit, mais il ne s'y amuse guère. Nous avons vu que lorsqu'il le pouvait, il n'aimait rien mieux que de s'enfermer en sa chambre pour lire ou étudier. A une époque où la colonie va plus mal encore que d'ordinaire, où le peuple gémit et souffre, il est le seul qui a la décence de proposer que, durant tout l'hiver, il n'y ait ni bals, ni violons, ni fêtes, mais il ne fut pas écouté. Ce n'est pas qu'il fut lui-même un empêcheur de danser en rond, car il venait d'un pays où le plus réchauffant des soleils n'a jamais passé pour engendrer la tristesse, et les mémorialistes reconnaissent qu'il possédait, avec une certaine bonhomie et une grande vivacité, une gaieté franche et communicative qui le rendait séduisant au plus haut point. Mais, en même temps, ainsi que l'avait si judicieusement noté l'abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, il avait le sérieux de l'homme qui réfléchit et qui pense. Personne peut-être ne savait mieux que lui sur quel volcan la haute société canadienne dansait sans s'en douter, et il en était quelquefois profondément attristé.

L'on sait, par exemple, l'extraordinaire frénésie de jeu qui s'empara pour ainsi dire de tout le monde pendant les hivers de 1757 et de 1758. C'était l'intendant qui battait la mesure, les tables de jeu se dressaient en permanence et il se perdait chaque soir des sommes folles autour du tapis vert. Montcalm fut un des rares qui ne perdirent pas la tête au milieu de cet étourdissant tourbillon. Il lui arriva bien une fois de céder à l'invitation pressante d'un haut personnage et de perdre quelques louis, mais il se hâte d'expliquer qu'il y a des sociétés qu'il n'est pas toujours possible de refuser. Comme il aurait voulu surtout protéger contre eux-mêmes certains de ses officiers qu'il aimait et qui, emportés par la passion la plus folle, se ruinaient sottement. Mais il n'y réussissait guère et l'on peut voir dans son journal que c'est l'objet d'un de ses plus constants soucis. Lui-même, dans l'effervescence de sa jeunesse, lorsqu'il était caserné dans la ville de Strasbourg, avait failli se laisser emporter par la même frénésie du jeu, mais il s'était vite ressaisi, et c'est alors que pour se raffermir, il se réfugia dans le travail et l'étude, écrivant peu après à son père qu'il venait de dévorer en quelques mois plus de grec qu'il n'en avait auparavant digéré en dix ans.

Je sais bien qu'aux yeux de quelques-uns encore, il plane au moins une ombre légère au-dessus des mœurs de Montcalm. L'abbé Auguste Gosselin, par exemple, lui a reproché avec une sévérité particulière de s'être associé avec certaines femmes frivoles et plus que légères qui faisaient alors la honte de Québec. Personne ne s'y trompe et il s'agit évidemment des trois dames de la rue du Parloir dans la compagnie desquelles notre héros avouait lui-même qu'il prenait peut-être trop de plaisir. Mais d'abord, n'y aurait-il pas un peu trop d'histoire à la Chien d'Or dans ce que nous savons de Mme de Beaubassin, de Mme de Lanaudière et de Mme Péan? Lors même que ces dames n'auraient

pas connu toute l'austérité des matrones romaines, il conviendrait encore de rappeler à la charge de Montcalm cette sage réflexion d'un moraliste: "Si on n'allait que chez les gens que l'on estime absolument, il y a des jours où l'on ne rentrerait même pas chez soi." Tout de même, il est permis de croire que nous ne sommes pas en présence des impudentes pécheresses que l'on a prétendu; Mme de Beaubassin aussi bien que la sémillante Angélique des Méloizes ressemblaient à bien d'autres filles d'Eve de nos jours qui, dans un monde différent, papillonnent autour des mêmes feux de gaieté, sans à la fin y brûler trop de leurs ailes. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'elles étaient de bonne compagnie, ayant beaucoup de charme et d'esprit, et il faut assurément être bien prude pour reprocher avec persistance à Montcalm de s'être plu quelquefois en leur aimable société. Notre héros n'avait d'ailleurs rien de monacal et l'on ne peut s'étonner que, dans un lointain exil où le retenaient des devoirs aussi rudes que peu consolants, il ait senti de temps à autre le besoin de s'évader du cercle monotone où il était enserré pour s'attarder en la rue du Parloir comme en une oasis de grâce et de beauté. De l'aveu unanime d'ailleurs, rien de tout cela ne l'a jamais empêché d'être aussi bon époux que bon père.

Quant à la bravoure de Montcalm, elle n'a pas besoin, je crois, d'être établie. Il nous fait songer à Chevert, un autre caractère à la Bayard, sous qui il avait servi dans les armées d'Allemagne et pour qui il conserva toujours un culte d'admiration si touchant. Comme Chevert, il était toujours au plus fort du danger, bravant la mitraille avec une insouciance aussi simple qu'héroïque. C'eût été pour lui mentir au sang de Gozon que de courber même la tête au sifflement d'une balle.

Nous avons déjà rappelé comment, pour avoir voulu tenir ferme au milieu du désarroi général, à la bataille de Plaisance en 1746, il fut blessé de trois coups de sabre à la tête. Il venait de se retirer à Montpellier pour se guérir de la terrible blessure qu'il avait reçue, lorsqu'il apprend que son régiment est commandé pour aller attaquer le col de l'Assiette, en Italie. Il ne veut pas qu'on lui dise, comme à un autre Crillon, que l'on a combattu à l'Assiette et qu'il n'y était pas. Ses plaies encore ouvertes ne l'arrêtent pas; il vole où la gloire l'attend, rejoint son régiment la tête enveloppée, se signale à cette attaque meurtrière et y est encore blessé de deux coups de feu. "Jamais, s'écrie l'auteur du *Journal militaire dédié à Monsieur frère du roi,* jamais l'héroïme n'avait pu se distinguer par une intrépidité plus inébranlable, par une constance plus étonnante."

Le Sieur de C.... lui-même reconnaît dans ses Mémoires que le marquis de Montcalm a hautement confirmé en Canada la réputation de bravoure qui l'y avait précédé, mais ce témoignage ne nous était

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pas nécessaire. Tous savent comme à Carillon, par exemple, il était partout à la fois, cible vivante et miraculeusement épargnée. Dans la chanson que fit après le 8 juillet un fantassin poète plus enthousiaste qu'habile, nous lisons ces deux vers d'une maladresse naïve qui n'en sont pas moins un des plus beaux hommages que puisse attendre un chef de ceux qu'il a menés au combat:

> Montcalm, comme défunt Annibal
> S'montrait soldat et général.

N'est-ce pas d'ailleurs à sa bravoure presque téméraire qu'il dût d'être frappé presque au commencement de l'action, le 13 septembre 1759? "La guerre est le tombeau des Montcalm", disait un vieux dicton du Rouergue, le pays d'origine de ses ancêtres. Cette destinée n'était pas pour lui déplaire, car, grand cœur, il était de ceux qui croient qu'il manquera toujours quelque chose à la plus belle vie qui ne finit pas, soit sur un échafaud pour la défense d'un principe, soit sur un champ de bataille pour la défense d'un drapeau. Après avoir courtisé la mort pendant trente ans, Montcalm devait finalement l'épouser, au milieu d'un nuage de gloire, dans les noces sanglantes de la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham.

Montcalm n'a pas moins bien répondu au dernier article du programme de son adolescence, qui était d'être un bon chrétien.

Chrétien, il le fut, non pas sans doute à la façon des mystiques qui s'élèvent à des hauteurs privilégiées, mais à la façon virile du soldat qui se reconnaît féal à son Dieu plus encore qu'à son roi. Sa foi était profonde et sincère et sa précieuse correspondance nous en fournit maintes preuves. C'est ainsi qu'à la suite d'un deuil douloureux, il écrit à sa femme, en 1744: "Nous avons besoin, ma très chère et bien-aimée, de nous résigner à la volonté de la Providence dans une aussi triste occasion que celle de la perte de mon fils... Dieu n'a pas voulu que cette âme se souillât sur la terre, ce sera un ange de plus devant lui qui priera pour les siens."

Y a-t-il rien de plus chrétien encore que les sentiments qu'il exprime au lendemain de Carillon, et dans ses lettres et dans la belle inscription composée par lui-même sur une croix:

> Quid dux? quid miles? quid strata ingentia ligna?
> En signum! En Victor! Deus hic Deus ipse triumphat.
>
> ---
>
> Chrétien! Ce ne fut point Montcalm et la prudence,
> Ces arbres renversés, tes héros, leurs exploits,
> Qui des Anglais confus ont brisé l'espérance;
> C'est le bras de ton Dieu vainqueur sur cette croix.

Il nous semble entendre saint Louis écrivant à sa mère après une victoire: "Vive Dieu! notre Seigneur s'est montré bon Français!"

Je puis paraître à quelques-uns avoir défendu mon héros avec une ferveur excessive, mais il me semble avoir établi ses titres à notre admiration sur la base solide des faits. Il y a encore, je le sais, des gens qui ne veulent pas que cette admiration soit sans mélange et qui continuent à déplorer dans un si beau caractère la présence de certaines petitesses, la jalousie par exemple. C'est une question que je ne crains pas d'aborder. Il s'agit, chacun l'a compris, de la lutte regrettable entre Montcalm et Vaudreuil.

Je dirai tout de suite que, si je dois prendre parti contre Vaudreuil, ce n'est pas avec une idée préconçue. Personne ne comprend mieux que moi la vive sympathie dont on a accoutumé d'entourer la figure du dernier gouverneur français du Canada. Il fut faible, sans doute, montrant une confiance presque aveugle à un entourage qui n'en méritait guère, mais cette faiblesse même dérivait d'une grande bonté, et il est certain qu'il n'y eut jamais à la tête de la Nouvelle France un administrateur capable d'un tel dévouement à l'endroit de son peuple. Profondément canadien, il protégeait systématiquement les Canadiens et même les humbles n'invoquaient presque jamais en vain sa paternelle sollicitude. Si c'est là un défaut, quel est celui d'entre nous qui pourrait s'empêcher de le pardonner à deux mains? Il n'y a de plus qu'une voix pour reconnaître que, quoiqu'il ait laissé faire autour de lui, Vaudreuil fut personnellement honnête et ne démérita pas de son nom. J'ai tenu à dire ces choses, parce que j'estime que Montcalm est assez grand pour n'avoir pas besoin qu'on rapetisse personne à son profit. Il s'est cependant trouvé quelqu'un qui a délibérément entrepris de rapetisser Montcalm au profit de Vaudreuil. J'ai nommé Monsieur l'abbé Casgrain. Ce n'est un secret pour personne que Monsieur Casgrain a pris sous sa protection spéciale Vaudreuil uniquement parce qu'il était Canadien. Autant qu'il l'a pu, et pour cette raison, il a atténué ses fautes, masqué ses faiblesses, voilé ses erreurs. Il me semble que c'est déjà du patriotisme mal placé et bien illogique. Un goujat Canadien — ce n'est pas de Vaudreuil que je parle — est toujours un goujat et si nous découvrons que l'un des nôtres a commis une action déloyale, pourquoi ne le lui dirions-nous pas à sa face, quoique Canadien? Mais il y a plus encore et je comprends toute la gravité de ce que je vais dire. Après avoir taillé des textes qu'il s'était engagé à publier intégralement et textuellement, Monsieur l'abbé Casgrain n'a pas hésité à s'en servir pour laver Vaudreuil de fautes qui pouvaient lui appartenir et pour charger Montcalm de fautes qui ne lui appartenaient certainement pas. Je comprends qu'il y ait quelque piété à couvrir d'un voile pudique, comme autrefois Japhet, la nudité de quelqu'un que nous aimons, mais la plus élémentaire justice commande que ce

ne soit pas au détriment d'autrui. Par un étrange dédoublement, M. l'abbé Casgrain, qui fut dans sa propre vie extrêmement probe, ne paraît pas avoir connu dans l'histoire cette probité qui en fait seule le prix.

Sans doute, il se peut que Montcalm ne se soit jamais débarrassé complètement de cet esprit métropolitain dont parle Monsieur Chapais et qui, de tout temps, de nos jours comme autrefois, n'a cessé de se heurter à l'esprit colonial, mais il n'est certainement pas juste de le présenter comme un ennemi des Canadiens, après avoir diligemment choisi dans ses lettres un certain nombre de petites phrases parmi les moins aimables à notre adresse. J'ai relu toute la correspondance de Montcalm, avec mes yeux de Canadien qui se flattent d'être aussi patriotes que tous autres, et j'ai pu constater qu'il n'y a presque pas une de ces fameuses petites phrases qui, remises dans leur texte, ne soit pas en quelque façon justifiée par le fait particulier et incontestable auquel elle se rapporte. D'ailleurs, qu'il soit ici et là échappé quelques paroles moins heureuses à l'humeur de Montcalm, dans un moment où sa situation extrêmement compliquée l'aurait plus qu'à l'ordinaire agacé, cela ne devrait pas trop nous étonner. Il me semble toutefois que les lignes suivantes qu'il écrivit à l'honneur des Canadiens et qui apparaissent d'autant plus sincères qu'elles ne furent jamais destinées à tomber sous leurs yeux, devraient suffire à les effacer toutes:—

"Quelle colonie! quel peuple quand on voudra! Quel parti à en tirer pour un Colbert!... Ils ont tous foncièrement de l'esprit et du courage, mais jusqu'à présent rien n'a servi à animer cette machine ni à développer des germes qui existent."

Il se peut encore que Montcalm n'ait pas toujours su se défendre de certaines vivacités; il était d'un tempérament ardent et, assez souvent piqué, il ne se croyait pas toujours tenu de suivre le conseil évangélique et de tendre la joue gauche à qui venait de le frapper sur la droite. Et ici encore on ne pourra nier que quelques-unes au moins de ses colères étaient fortement provoquées. Je suis sûr, par exemple, que plusieurs d'entre nous auraient joui d'assister à la magistrale exécution qu'il fit un jour de Deschambault. Laissons-le la raconter lui-même: "Je surpris Deschambault, soit bavardage, délation, méchanceté ou basse flatterie, accusant nos officiers de propos indiscrets... sans en nommer aucun. Oh! certes, comme je le surpris, comme on dit, volant dans la poche, il fut obligé, ainsi que le marquis de Vaudreuil acceptant, d'essuyer une leçon sur ce point, forte, respectueuse, longue, les faisant souffrir tous deux, car vis-à-vis de Deschambault qu'elle regardait seul, cela ressemblait à des coups de pied dans le ventre, qu'on a demandé la permission de donner à quelqu'un qui ne peut s'éviter de les recevoir. Je souhaiterais que cela corrigeât les rapporteurs et ceux qui les écoutent."

Voilà pour l'humeur et la vivacité; mais de jalousie, point. Il n'y a encore une fois qu'à relire les admirables lettres de Montcalm pour se rendre compte que ce sentiment était bien au-dessous de celui qui, après avoir recommandé le chevalier de Lévis à son propre grade de maréchal de camp, pouvait écrire à M. de Paulmy: "Au reste, qu'on me fasse ou qu'on ne me fasse pas lieutenant général, même zèle pour le service.... et que la considération de ce qui me regarde n'arrête jamais l'avancement des officiers supérieurs qui sont sous mes ordres."

En aucun endroit l'on ne trouvera que Montcalm se soit plaint d'être subordonné à Vaudreuil, quoiqu'il l'estimât avec raison inférieur à lui-même au point de vue militaire. C'est en connaissance de cause qu'il avait accepté de servir en Canada sous les ordres du gouverneur général et il avait trop appris à la grande école de la guerre que pour savoir commander il faut d'abord savoir obéir. Ce dont il avait à se plaindre souvent, et non sans amertume quelquefois, c'était de n'être pas consulté lorsqu'il y avait droit, ou d'être desservi auprès de la Cour par des représentations insidieuses ou perfides. S'il y avait quelqu'un que l'on pourrait en cette affaire suspecter de jalousie, ce serait plutôt Vaudreuil, si l'on s'en rapporte à la lettre qu'il écrivit au ministre le lendemain de la prise de Chouaguen et qui est, il faut bien l'avouer, bien près d'être malhonnête. Il est trop facile d'y deviner celui qui ne veut pas que

> quelqu'un fasse une ombre
> Plus grande que la sienne au mur de sa maison.

Lorsque Montcalm se sent menacé dans son honneur ou dans ses droits, il se raidit, et c'est aussi légitime qu'humain. J'admire l'étonnement de ceux qui s'en offensent.

> Cet animal est bien méchant;
> Quand on l'attaque, il se défend.

D'ailleurs, il ne faudra jamais oublier l'acte admirable d'abnégation qu'il eut seul la force d'âme d'accomplir lorsqu'il se présenta un jour à Vaudreuil et lui offrit loyalement d'enterrer leurs mutuels différends pour le bien du service et pour celui de la colonie. Après tous ces exemples on peut être assuré que Montcalm n'aurait jamais signé une lettre comme celle que Vaudreuil eut la triste inspiration d'écrire après la mort de son rival et qu'il est impossible de ne pas assimiler à un ignoble piétinement sur un cadavre. Que l'on examine encore une fois les actes aussi bien que les écrits des deux hommes en présence, et l'on n'aura guère de peine à décider à qui ils font le plus d'honneur. Et je ne crains pas d'ajouter qu'à mesure que l'on découvre des documents nouveaux sur cette période à la fois si triste et si glorieuse de la Guerre de Sept Ans, c'est Montcalm qui grandit, et non pas l'autre.

J'ai parlé plus longuement de l'homme en Montcalm, parce qu'il me semblait que c'était sous cet aspect que le grand vaincu des Plaines d'Abraham était encore le moins bien connu. Il me resterait à vous parler du général. Je vous préviens sans retard que j'en parlerai beaucoup plus brièvement. Il en naîtra un défaut trop certain d'équilibre entre les parties de ce travail auquel je m'excuse d'ailleurs de n'avoir pu donner tout le temps nécessaire, mais vous voudrez bien l'expliquer par un souci louable de ne pas vous retenir ici trop longtemps. C'est en outre une cause d'avance gagnée, car il n'y a guère qu'une voix pour saluer en Montcalm un grand général, en dépit même de son dernier et fatal insuccès.

Ce que le héros de Québec a pu accomplir en trois ans, au milieu des plus inextricables difficultés, est véritablement extraordinaire. Il y a, en effet, peu d'exemples d'un général qui, appelé à une aussi difficile mission, ait été soumis à autant d'handicaps, suivant un mot anglais fort expressif et qui n'est pas facilement traduisible.

Choisi à cause de ses talents militaires, pour prévenir la perte de la colonie en péril, il n'en est pas moins subordonné au gouverneur général qui garde en tous points le commandement suprême des troupes de terre et de mer et qui ne manque pas une occasion de l'exercer. Comme il le dit lui-même, son rôle se borne à remontrer, proposer, éclairer, instruire de son mieux, et, après avoir fait le dû de sa charge, il ne lui reste qu'à attendre avec tranquillité l'éloge ou le blâme, en se retranchant derrière la belle devise de ses armes: "Mon innocence est ma forteresse." Malheureusement, on ne lui permet même pas de proposer, d'éclairer et d'instruire. Assez souvent, les opérations les plus délicates et les plus graves sont décidées sans sa participation. Il n'y a pas jusqu'à la noble ingérente marquise de Vaudreuil qui ne se mêle quelquefois des affaires de la guerre. Nous savons tous comment le bouillant général s'y prit pour la rembarrer poliment mais fermement en une semblable circonstance. C'était au cours d'une discussion avec LeMercier." La conversation finit de ma part, raconte-t-il lui-même; Mme de Vaudreuil voulut s'y mêler. "Madame, " permettez que sans sortir du respect qui vous est dû, j'aie l'honneur " vous dire que les dames ne doivent parler guerre."

— Elle voulut continuer. — " Madame, sans sortir du respect " qui vous est dû, j'ai l'honneur de vous dire que si Mme de Mont- " calm était ici et qu'elle nous entendît parler guerre avec M. de " Vaudreuil, elle garderait le silence."

Il arrivait aussi quelquefois que Montcalm recevait des instructions d'une puérilité déconcertante, comme lorsqu'on donne un tambour à un enfant avec la recommandation de ne pas faire de bruit. En d'autres temps, les instructions semblaient, à s'y méprendre, froidement calculées pour rejeter tout le blâme sur l'exécutant,

advenant l'insuccès. Ce fut le cas en particulier des ordres donnés par Vaudreuil avant Carillon. Après un insidieux préambule, où il déclarait faussement s'être préalablement entendu avec lui sur toutes les choses de la colonie, Vaudreuil continuait en donnant à son général les instructions les plus vagues et en lui observant qu'il ne devrait aller au-devant de l'ennemi que lorsqu'il se croirait assuré de vaincre. Montcalm, justement indigné, lui fit tenir immédiatement le billet qui suit:

> " C'est bien assez que je me charge, dans des circonstances qui peuvent être aussi critiques, de défendre, autant qu'il me sera possible, la frontière du lac Saint-Sacrement, avec 4,000 hommes contre des forces très supérieures, sans me charger d'une instruction dont les obscurités et les contradictions sembleraient me rendre responsable des événements qui peuvent arriver et que nous devons prévoir. Je rends justice à la droiture de vos intentions, mais je ne saurais partir que vous ne m'ayez remis une instruction avec tous les changements aussi nécessaires qu'indispensables pour conserver la réputation d'un général qui a servi avec autant de zèle pour votre propre gloire et pour la défense de cette colonie."

Devant cette volonté redressée, Vaudreuil dut céder et il signa une instruction dictée par Montcalm lui-même.

Dans de semblables conditions, où il était impossible à un général de donner libre cours à son propre génie, l'on comprend que la conduite de la guerre ait été trop souvent vacillante. Personne ne peut avoir oublié le changement merveilleux qui s'opéra du jour au lendemain, en 1918, dans le cours jusque-là si capricieux de la dernière grande guerre, lorsque les chefs britanniques, belges et italiens, mettant enfin de côté leurs naturelles susceptibilités nationales, eurent consenti à remettre entre les mains de Foch le commandement suprême. Il n'y avait qu'à assurer à Montcalm l'unité de commandement en 1758 ou 1759 et le Canada était plus que probablement sauvé.

Un autre grand embarras de Montcalm était l'extrême pénurie de secours qu'il recevait de la métropole. En dépit de ses appels les plus pressants, on le laissait sans vivres, sans munitions, sans armes, avec une douzaine de mille hommes tout au plus pour faire face à une invasion qui s'annonçait de jour en jour plus formidable. Et là-dessus, il fallait compter les Sauvages dont Montbeillard a dit avec infiniment de raison qu'ils n'étaient guère bons qu'à ne pas les avoir contre soi, et les miliciens du pays qui, n'étant guère habitués qu'aux escarmouches rapides et aux coups qui se frappent vite pour

rentrer ensuite chez soi, ne pouvaient, à cause de leur absence complète de discipline, et malgré leur incontestable bravoure, être d'une bienfaisante efficacité dans une guerre que les circonstances nouvelles faisaient de plus en plus semblable à la guerre européenne.

Malgré tous ces obstacles, Montcalm ne faillit pas à la tâche. Quoique, dans la jeune impertinence de ses 33 ans, Wolfe l'ait appelé quelque part dans une lettre à sa mère, " le vieux rusé ", il n'avait encore que quarante-quatre ans lorsqu'il vint au Canada. Il était alors dans toute la force de son génie, et l'on est en droit de se demander ce que, laissé à lui-même, il aurait pu accomplir, lorsqu'on se souvient que, n'ayant jamais commandé avant sa venue au Canada, il a rempli son vrai rôle historique en 3 ans, et que ces 3 ans ont suffi pour le placer parmi les premiers généraux de son temps. Montcalm savait merveilleusement s'adapter aux circonstances, et sur le lieu du combat, il ne se croyait heureusement jamais lié par des ordres qui lui était donnés à 80 lieues de distance. Jusqu'à la bataille des Plaines, dont on ne saura peut-être jamais exactement si elle ne fut pas volée par une fatale conspiration d'événements, il n'avait pas connu un seul insuccès. Chouaguen, Fort George et Carillon, telles sont les glorieuses étapes de sa brillante carrière, et chacune de ces victoires est bien à lui. Sans doute, la capture d'Oswego, la prise du Fort George, la bataille de Carillon paraissent des affaires bien petites, lorsqu'on les compare aux monstrueux engagements de nos jours où des millions d'hommes évoluent à la fois, mais elles n'en furent pas moins à leur manière de grands actes de guerre et il n'y a qu'à en juger par l'énorme retentissement qu'elles eurent en leur temps.

En 1756, Montcalm reçoit l'ordre de prendre Oswego ou Chouaguen. Il sait trop que l'entreprise n'est pas aussi facile que le croit M. de Vaudreuil, mais il est soldat, il obéit, et quinze jours plus tard, il a pris Chouaguen. Et aussitôt il arrive ce qui ne s'était peut-être jamais vu: un général s'excusant de sa victoire. Montcalm en effet écrit au ministre qu'aux yeux de l'Europe cela apparaîtra sûrement une folle témérité d'attaquer 1,800 hommes fortifiés avec 3,000 hommes et une artillerie inférieure, mais, avec une naïveté presque sublime, il promet qu'en Europe il se conduira sous des principes différents.

Je ne m'arrêterai pas à la prise de William Henry qui n'en fut pas moins un exploit éclatant et dont on sait que Montcalm fut totalement étranger au trop affreux corollaire qui la suivit.

Même de la bataille de Carillon, je ne veux parler que brièvement, car tout a été dit déjà sur cette immortelle victoire. Cet incomparable exploit de 3,000 français et Canadiens battant 15,000 des meilleures

troupes d'Angleterre ne pouvait être dû qu'à une stratégie supérieure et M. Santai l'a démontré avec une lucidité merveilleuse dans la remarquable étude militaire qu'il y a consacrée. Deux jours avant la bataille, le 6 juillet 1758, Montcalm écrivait à Vaudreuil: "Si les Anglais me donnent le temps de gagner les positions que j'ai choisies sur les hauteurs de Carillon, je les battrai." Et ainsi fut fait. Le triomphe du 8 juillet 1758 ne fut pas simplement l'effet d'un hasard heureux; il est dû au génie militaire de Montcalm, plus encore qu'à la valeur pourtant incontestable de ses troupes.

J'en viens enfin à la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham. C'est là que Montcalm devait verser pour son drapeau la dernière goutte de ce sang de Gozon dont il était si fier. Quoique enseveli dans sa défaite, il n'y apparaît pas moins grand aux yeux de l'histoire que son illustre rival enseveli en même temps que lui dans sa victoire. Tous deux étaient de grands cœurs et ils étaient dignes de croiser le fer ensemble. A l'un la destinée fut propice, à l'autre elle fut marâtre, et c'est tout.

Mais non, il paraît que ce n'est pas tout. L'on a beaucoup discuté et l'on discute encore pour savoir qui a perdu la bataille du 13 septembre, Montcalm ou Vaudreuil. Je veux bien pour ma part que ce soit Montcalm, puisque c'est lui qui la livra. Mais que le héros français l'ait perdue par sa faute et par son aveuglement, voilà à quoi je ne puis consentir et que l'on me permettra de dire qui n'est pas prouvé. Toujours à la suite de M. l'abbé Casgrain, quelques-uns soutiennent que, pour n'avoir pas écouté le sage Vaudreuil, Montcalm, après avoir commis une première faute en ne prévenant pas le débarquement de l'Anse au Foulon, en commit une autre plus grande encore en engageant la bataille avec une précipitation malheureuse.

Au premier point, il faut attendre, s'ils existent, les documents que nous ne possédons pas encore et qui diront de façon sûre qui, de Vaudreuil ou de Montcalm, a empêché le régiment de Guyenne de se porter au moment fatidique dans l'Anse au Foulon.

Au second point, nous avons le jugement de plusieurs grands hommes de guerre qui vaut bien celui de nos stratégistes en chambre et qui prononce que, dans les circonstances où il était placé, le général français a fait ce qu'il devait.

Il est trop évident que du prétendu aveuglement de Montcalm, l'on a d'abord fait une thèse, quitte ensuite à la prouver *per fas et nefas*. Or, comme l'écrit quelque part, avec beaucoup de justesse, M. l'abbé Camille Roy, "Il est dangereux de faire des thèses en histoire. Celui qui s'y emploie s'expose à manipuler maladroitement les pièces d'information, à fausser son regard, à colorer de ses préjugés les œuvres et les choses, et à n'apercevoir que ce qui peut servir son

dessein." Ce n'est pas autre chose au fond que ce que dit Bossuet; " Le plus grand dérèglement de la raison est de croire que les choses sont parce qu'on veut qu'elles soient."

En somme, Mesdames et Messieurs, nous avons toutes les raisons de dire avec un de ses biographes que s'il est une figure à qui le jour de l'histoire est favorable, c'est sans contredit celle de Montcalm. Saluons donc bien haut la mémoire de celui que je me crois en droit d'appeler le Turenne de la Nouvelle France, puisque, comme Turenne, il fut un guerrier valeureux et génial, puisque comme lui il obtint la suprême consécration de la mort sur un champ de bataille, puisque comme lui enfin, d'après le mot de Montecuculli, il a mérité d'être placé au nombre des hommes qui font honneur à l'homme. Personne en effet ne nous fait mieux admirer jusqu'au bout

L'accord d'un beau talent dans un beau caractère.

Aucun Canadien d'ailleurs n'a le droit de marchander son admiration à Montcalm. Quoique né Français, il nous appartient à un titre encore plus haut que celui de la naissance. C'est ici, aux Ursulines, qu'il repose dans le trou de bombe que la Providence, par une dernière et gracieuse attention, a semblé lui ménager comme la seule fosse digne d'un tel guerrier; notre sol pour lequel il est mort le garde et le gardera toujours.

THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY

BY

W. H. Atherton

This is not a "paper" proper; it is a peg on which to hang contributions for a subsequent discussion, for which this is a note of invitation. The subject is styled "The Study of local History and the means to promote the study and recording of such."

The title is long, but I hope of no small value in its suggestiveness.

(1) As to the value of the study of local history, there can be no doubt that "*petite histoire*" is the foundation of our large history and, in its own sphere, it is perfect. If the yolk of an egg could write its history this would be confined to the inside of the shell, but it would be adequate for a yolk. "O God," said Hamlet, "I could be bounded in a nut-shell and count myself a king of infinite space were it not that I have had dreams." The entourage of a village, a house, a town, a city can be sufficient material for such valuable historical research. How many of us have, through that inquisitiveness which is the fertile mother of history, been led by the intensive study of a very limited district, further afield, till as years advance, we have Pisgah sights of regions which we shall never be allowed to explore.

(2) As to the opportunity of the student of local history in Canada to produce original work, this is indeed a vast one. In the older countries, centuries of chroniclers have spent themselves so that comparatively speaking, original first-hand research is difficult; but not so in the virgin literary fields in Canada. Here we have but scratched the surface of some corners. It is to the credit of the province of Quebec that it has been the best scratched so far owing to the patriotic school of researchers of "Les petites choses d'histoire", but even here, there are numerous and deep mines for generations yet to investigate. The historical groups of our earlier cities have certainly been an inspiration to others following them in the other provinces, but it seems to me that it is now the peculiar function of the Canadian Historical Society to promote this birth of new groups in our ever growing country, where history is now in the making; new posts, villages and towns arising day by day and spots where hitherto no white man ever settled. Our country has become the home of many and varied people of European origin who are the heirs of the traditions and customs that will enrich our social life.

The chronicling of the foundations, the coming of such peoples, the narration of the racial and credal origins of the first pioneers,

the searches into the past history of their neighbourhoods, the study of aboriginal remains or traces, all of these are worthy of encouragement. Would that in each spot, however populated, we could persuade a few earnest students to come together—they need not be learned scholars—communicate their historical or antiquarian researches, put them on paper, even if the printing of them has to be delayed for years or even if they only serve in their manuscript form for consultation by some lucky savant.

How valuable are the "relations des Jesuites", but what are they but letters written in the silent forests or squalid wigwam, descriptive of the places they visited and the tribes they dwelt with. What a light the copy-books of the "journal des Jesuites", a mere casual diary, not regularly kept, shed on the early days of New France. How valuable such slight documents are! So will be the simplest even of the records I would encourage. I suppose that there must be stored away, often forgotten or hidden in the far-away places of Canada, many such diaries of the first explorers and settlers of some of our early and even recent town sites or colonies, which if collected by some local groups would be the basis of the manuscript section of the archives of many an antiquarian society of some future note. If these groups could be linked by communication with the Canadian Historical Society, what a contribution would be made to our historical archives. What a source of inspiration opened to our littérateurs and romance-writers.

(3) As to formal histories of our more important cities and regions, now is the opportunity for the painstaking local historian to get on to the book shelves of libraries for years to come—to be the first historian of his burgh—an unremunerative and humble aspiration, but still a valuable one for the future of our History of Canada in general.

It seems to me that our Canadian Historical Society has a great mission in fostering all forms of local history, traditional folklore songs, and the like. We are not to be a literary society to meet once a year, to hear a few eminent historians displaying their learning. We have to be practical. All the year round we have to encourage the spirit of historical research and we are to scatter the seeds of stimulation here, there and everywhere, for in the most unlikely places the harvest may be greatest.

(4) In general, may I remark, that the hour is now propitious for the impulse which our society is looked upon to launch. The Parkman celebration promoted by our first president is perhaps the first outstanding indication of what organized effort can do. Again, the recent but now universal movement in Canada to record by monument, wayside cairns, the landmarks of our country's romantic

story—a movement which we have inherited from the society to whose heritage we have succeeded—is a further proof of the fertile soil we are still further called upon to till and prepare for richer and more abundant and more varied crops. In fine, we must not rest till we have made every nook of Canada red hot with the burning glow of enthusiasm which is fed by the zeal of the priests and votaries of their historical muse.

With this brief and slight introduction to the discussion which I have proposed, may I hope that practical suggestions may yet be the outcome of it. If we desire our immigrants to become loyal Canadians, they must be rooted to the soil through love of its traditions and its storied past. A knowledge of local history is in this propaganda a most useful and intellectual arm in the plan of Canadianization. If I have any reason to explain my own devotion to Canada, it is due to the good luck which threw me at once on my arrival with a group collecting the local history of the earliest missions of northern Alberta. My abiding citizenship as well as my interest in the broad history of Canada started thus; so much so that I realize the truth of the verses:—

"Qui manet in patria et patriam cognoscere temnit
In mihi non civis, sed peregrinus erit."

which I may doggerelize thus:—

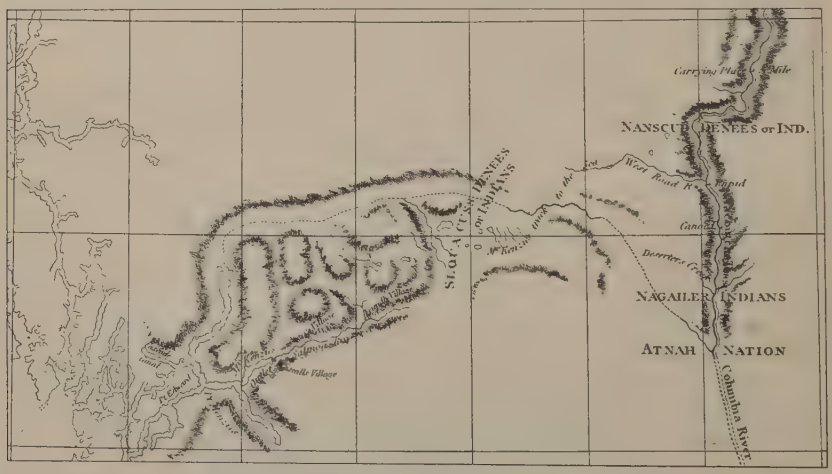
"Who staying in a country, its story scorns to know,
To me, such is no citizen, but passer-by, I trow."

THE END OF ALEXANDER MACKENZIE'S TRIP TO THE PACIFIC

BY

HARLAN I. SMITH

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to reach the Pacific coast of Canada over land, came down from the high plateau between the Fraser river and the Pacific ocean and reached the Bella Coola river at a Bellacoola Indian village called Nûtléig, which he shows on his map published in 1801 as Friendly Village (fig. 1) (Lantern Slide). I visited the site of this place in 1920 and again in 1922. It is on the north side of Bella Coola river immediately above, that is to the east of, the mouth of Kahylktst river. This is about 31 miles from the sea by the present-day wagon road. It is something less than a mile down the Kahylktst river from the bridge on this wagon road, locally known as Burnt Bridge. The maps show the post office of Firvale, a mile or so down the road from this place, but this consists of only two or three frontier farms.



Map of portion of Mackenzie's route to the sea.

The site of the old Bellacoola village appears to have been covered by sediments from the rivers, or to have been pretty well washed away, probably the latter. There are, however, slight signs that this place had been inhabited by Indians recently. In fact the Bellacoola Indians of this valley, who are now concentrated on their reserve at the mouth of the river, are still represented near this

old village for a week or so each season by a few individuals who go there to pick berries. On this old site are also the remains of one of the very earliest white men's cabins of the whole region.

The present day wagon road extends from the sea to Stūih at the junction of the Atnarko and Talchako rivers, that is 42 miles from the salt water or about 11 miles above this old site. From Stūih and from various places along the wagon road, there are trails leading up on to the high plateau. Indians come over these trails and down the Bella Coola valley to the town of Bella Coola once or twice a year to secure their winter's supplies. It is not uncommon for them to come as far as 150 and 200 miles, and it is said that before the Grand Trunk Pacific was put through that they came here for supplies from as far as the Peace River country. This is the best travelled route for horses from the interior to the Pacific coast of Canada. There is no wagon road from the interior of Canada to its western coast. The one or two other trails which reach the Pacific coast of Canada are abandoned, or very little travelled, badly grown up, and are not used because they do not lead to a source of supplies.

It will be remembered that Mackenzie continued down the river, stopping at a village on the north side, which he describes and shows on his map as Gt. Village. I visited the site of this village in 1922. It is known to the Indians as Nūsk-'Elst, and is on the upper or eastern side of the mouth of Tsatleanootz river. The humpback salmon ascend this river in great numbers. The site is about three miles below the Canoe Crossing bridge, or approximately two miles below Canoe Crossing. It is nearly in line with the highest peak of the mountains through which the Bella Coola river here breaks from the rather dry interior to the sea coast. Floods have eroded the débris from parts of this old village which appears in places to reach a depth of three or four feet. There were still living in 1923 Bellacoola Indians who talked of the days when this village was abandoned, although they may not have been present themselves.

The village, indicated by Mackenzie on his map as Rascalls village, on the south side of Bella Coola river near its mouth, is still inhabited, and part of the site is included in the Indian reservation. Part of it is on private property. It is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the present Bella Coola townsite. Here it was that Mackenzie finally reached the sea and embarked for a short canoe trip down the inlets.

About two miles south of the townsite, where the flat bottomlands of the valley reach the base of the very steep mountains, a small stream comes out of the mountains from the south, and here is a waterfall of considerable charm. On the west side of this fall,

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bathed by its spray at certain times, is a shelf in the rock wall of the canyon (figs. 2 and 3). This is three or four feet wide by something over twenty feet long. On the back of it, and on its floor, are petroglyphs bruised into the rocks by the Bellacoola Indians of long ago. Plaster of Paris moulds of these petroglyphs have been made and deposited in the National Museum of Canada. This was a secret meeting place for a certain organization of the Indians. It is of such romantic interest and there are such weird stories about it, that, taken together with its natural beauty, and the petroglyphs, it would seem to be well worth setting aside as an historic landmark of interest to tourists.

Three miles above here, in the Bella Coola valley, another stream enters the river from the south. Where this stream comes out of the mountains and strikes the bottomland is a canyon at least seventy feet deep. This point is about one mile south of the Bella Coola river and the present wagon road. Here on the western side of this canyon are a number of outcrops bearing an extensive series of petroglyphs bruised into the rocks by the Bellacoola Indians of long ago. Plaster of Paris moulds of some of these have also been made for the museum. These petroglyphs, also, are in a place which in its present condition is of great natural beauty. The pictures are said to have been made by a family while secretly singing its sacred songs. This site is also well worth preservation as a national historic monument.

It is easy enough to give directions so that people may visit such sites. In fact, the above locations are sufficiently accurate for anyone wishing to visit these petroglyphs, but in this new country it is more difficult to give their legal location, and this would probably require the services of a surveyor.

From the mouth of the Bella Coola, Mackenzie and his party travelled by canoe down North Bentinck arm, and as they passed the entrance to South Bentinck arm they saw to the south in this arm the little island (fig. 4) known to the Indians as Kinkilst and marked as King island on one of the maps, but which must be distinguished from the large King island which lies to the west of Labouchere channel.

I have proposed that a strip of country, approximately seventy miles long east and west by some twenty miles wide north and south, be set aside as a great out-of-doors museum for the conservation and sanctuary of wild life, both animal and plant, for the preservation of Indian petroglyphs and other historic sites—all this to be a national monument to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to reach the Pacific coast of Canada overland. This area lies immediately to the south of the Bella Coola valley, and is as yet unsurveyed, its

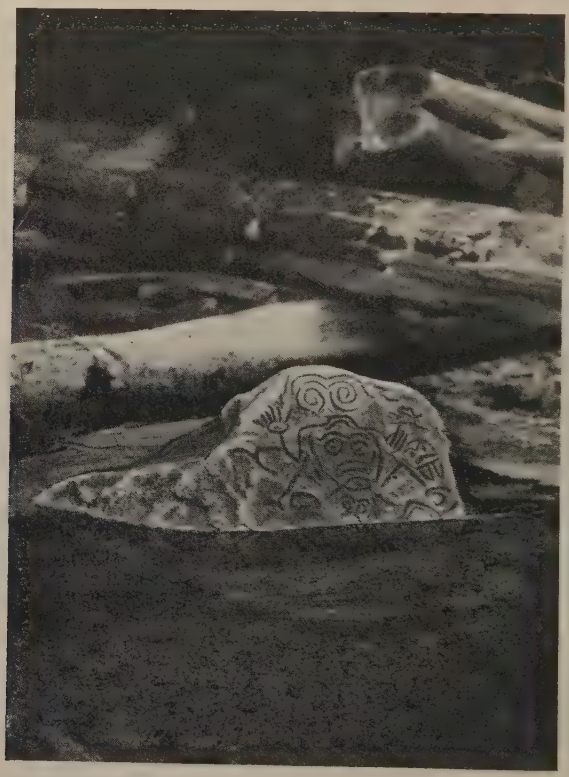
title still being in the Crown. This being the case, it would be unnecessary to go to any expense to have the park established. The area has in it many glaciers and innumerable waterfalls. Practically all of it is high land, which will never be of use for agricultural purposes. With the possible exception of the eastern part, it lies in an area which the geologists indicate is not likely to be valuable for its minerals, and much of it is above timber line. Like a great monument, in some places over 10,000 feet high, it overlooks the spot where the first white man to cross Canada reached the sea, and it in turn with its lofty peaks was seen by him as he came down the valley and embarked on the waters of the Pacific.

Kinkilst island, the Pacific coast island mentioned by Mackenzie.

Continuing on from the mouth of South Bentinck arm, Mackenzie turned through Labouchere channel and westward to a point near Elcho harbour. This is perhaps fifteen miles up Dean channel eastward from Cousins inlet, the location of the present town of Ocean Falls, which is the chief stopping place of the boats between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. In other words, where Mackenzie ended his westward journey and turned back towards his home land is only fifteen miles from Ocean Falls where some seven or eight passenger steamers land per week, so that this whole region is now accessible to historians and tourists.

On the eastern side of the entrance of Elcho harbour is a little rock promontory. Here I found refuse of an ancient village pretty well covering the entire promontory, and, without making use of suitable tools, discovered that this refuse reached the depth of at least 18 inches. I was told by the Bellacoola Indians that this promontory

had been fortified with a high strong wall of logs. The natural steepness of its shores would largely protect it without such a wall. The Bellacoola Indians told me that there had been about four houses within this enclosure and that its entrance leading from the land was closed at night. They also said that on the land were a few other houses.



Petrolyph at Elcho Harbour, B.C.

In a small bay between this rocky promontory and the eastern shore of Elcho harbour is a beach where the people could have pulled up their canoes, and on this beach are two rocks bearing petroglyphs. These rocks are washed by the high tide. The Indians say there are burial caves in the cliff back from the promontory. This promontory is a noticeable feature to the observant tourist who may be passing on Dean channel to or from Ocean Falls, because since the Indians have lived here no heavy timber has grown on the old village site, and so it is grown up with nettles and other vegetation which shows

at a great distance as a much lighter green than that of the evergreen forest.

The Indians say that this fortified point and its accompanying mainland habitations were the home of Bella Bella Indians, a people entirely different in language from the Bellacoolas. It is my present belief that it was the people of this Bella Bella settlement that are referred to by Mackenzie and that his party dreaded to meet at the time when they started on their homeward journey. This land also being of little or no value, the fort and petroglyphs might well be preserved as a national monument.

A short distance to the west along the north side of Dean channel are two places where the Indians have painted with red upon the cliffs rising from the sea, but no one has yet been able to discover the painting which Mackenzie states he put upon the rocks. This painting may have weathered away, or as the Indians say it may have been destroyed by forest fire.

The Bellacoola Indians still tell of Mackenzie's trip through the valley as their first sight of white men. A few of their statements may be from information absorbed by their later generations from discussions with white men. But much of what they say is surely from the pure Indian viewpoint, and in general corresponds with Mackenzie's account.

If my suggestion to establish Mackenzie park is carried out, visitors to the region will soon find there are many delightful and interesting side trips which may be taken from the vicinity of the park to such places as the historic sites above mentioned and to many beautiful natural features. They may in fact well spend many months in the Bella Coola valley viewing the beauties of the park without ever going up into it, and they will find in the eastern portion of the area at least that the usual objection to the rainy weather of the Pacific coast cannot be entertained. In fact the entire park area is dry during the summer months. It is free from violent storms and mosquitoes.

When the profits to Canada from the money spent by foreign tourists in visiting this area are sufficient, the roadway up the Bella Coola valley might be improved throughout its length and continued about fifty miles to connect it with the automobile road to the east and thus make this area accessible from the Caribou Road, and eventually from the Pacific states and the east. This road up the Bella Coola valley, which might appropriately be called Mackenzie highway, follows practically the route of the great explorer. In fact the width of the valley would not allow it to depart more than a mile or so from his route down the valley. Motor boats and Norwegian fishing boats make the great explorer's sea route easily accessible to visitors.

LES DÉBUTS DU CHRISTIANISME EN LOUISIANE [1]

BY

GUSTAVE LANCTÔT

I

Les missionnaires qui accompagnaient Cavelier de la Salle dans son expédition de 1684-87 ont-ils établi le catholicisme au Texas? A cette question, qui ne peut manquer d'intéresser et le curieux et l'érudit, l'histoire documentaire et géographique répond par une affirmation absolue.

De fait, c'est en 1682 que le christianisme pénétra en Louisiane française. Le 7 avril de cette année, portant commission du roi,[2] La Salle, accompagné du père récollet, Zénobe Membré, de vingt-deux français et de dix-huit Sauvages, atteignait l'embouchure du Mississipi.[3]

Tout le monde étant sous les armes, La Salle dressa un poteau fait d'un arbre équarri auquel on avait attaché les armes de France façonnées avec le cuivre d'une chaudière.[4] Sous les armes était l'inscription: "Louis le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre règne le 9e avril 1682".

On chanta le *Te Deum*, l'*Exaudiat*, le *Domine salvum fac regem*. On tira "des salves de mousqueterie, et les Français crièrent: Vive le Roy!"[5]

A haute voix, commission en main, La Salle déclara prendre, au nom de Louis le Grand, possession du pays de la Louisiane, comprenant tous les territoires depuis l'embouchure de l'Ohio, du côté de l'est, et le long du fleuve Mississipi depuis sa naissance jusqu'à son embouchure dans le golfe du Mexique, et de là jusqu'à la rivière des Palmes du côté de l'ouest. Au pied du poteau, on enterra une plaque de plomb, gravée d'un côté des armes de France avec cette inscription: "*Ludovicus Magnus regnat nono aprilis 1682*" et de l'autre: "*Robertus Cavelier, cum domino de Tonty, legato, R. P. Zenobio Membre, Recollecto, et viginti Gallis, primus hoc flumend, inde ab Ilineorum pago enavigavit, ejusque ostium fecit pervium non aprilis anni 1682.*"[6]

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[1] La présente étude se rapportant à une colonie française, l'auteur a naturellement adopté la ligne frontière réclamée par la France, sans discuter les prétentions contraires des Anglais et des Espagnols. Il ne faut pas oublier ce point très important en lisant ce travail.

[2] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698, Mémoires et Documents inédits*, Paris, 1879, vol. 1, Permission au sieur de la Salle de découvrir la partie occidentale de la Nouvelle-France, 12 mai 1678, p. 337.

[3] *Id.* vol. II, Procès-verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane à l'embouchure de la mer ou golfe du Mexique, 9 avril 1682, pp. 191-2.

[4] *Id.* vol. I, Récit de Nicolas de la Salle, 1682, p. 562.

[5] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, Procès-verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, à l'embouchure de la mer ou golfe du Mexique, 9 avril 1682, pp. 190-191.

[6] *Id.* pp. 191-192.

Ensuite La Salle déclara que le roi de France, " comme fils aîné de l'Eglise, n'acquéroit point de pays à sa couronne où son principal soin ne tendist à y establir la religion chrétienne, il falloit en planter la marque en celui-ci." Là-dessus, il érigea une croix qu'on avait préparée, et devant laquelle on chanta le *Vexila Regis* et le *Domine salvum fac regem.*[1]

Le pays qui devenait ainsi terre française et catholique englobait dans ses limites tout le Texas actuel.

A son retour en France, le découvreur se rendit sans tarder à Versailles. " M. le Marquis de Seignelay l'a fort escouté. Le Roy l'a très bien reçeu."[2] Il expliqua si bien son projet de coloniser les nouvelles terres que Louis XIV le nomma par commission, en avril 1684, commandant de toute la Louisiane, avec mission d'assujettir les nations sauvages et de " leur porter les lumières de la foy et de l'évangile." Et sa commission lui donnait pleine autorité sur tous les pays, " depuis le fort Saint Louis sur la rivière des Islinois jusqu'à la Nouvelle Biscaye."[3]

L'expédition quitta La Rochelle, le 24 juillet 1684, forte de quatre vaisseaux.[4] Après une escale à Saint-Domingue, la petite flotte, dépassant — sans l'apercevoir — le delta du Mississippi, vint jeter l'ancre, le 6 janvier 1685, en face de la baie Saint-Bernard, que La Salle nomma baie Saint-Louis.[5] C'est aujourd'hui la baie Matagorda, sur le littoral du Texas.[6] Décontenancé de ne pas trouver le fleuve qu'il cherchait, La Salle, après quelques hésitations, débarqua sa petite bande de colons et commença, le 2 avril, la construction d'un fort avec des logements, au fond de la baie, sur la Rivière-aux-Bœufs,[7] qui s'appelle maintenant la rivière Lavaca.[8] Son but était d'y faire un poste temporaire, où séjournerait le gros de l'expédition, pendant qu'il tenterait, par voie de terre, de retrouver le Mississippi, objectif de son voyage.

Telle fut l'origine de l'établissement de La Salle au Texas. Il lui servit de base pendant ses voyages à la recherche du grand fleuve. Mais La Salle fut tué en 1687 au cours de sa tentative de gagner le Canada par les Illinois,[9] et le fort de la baie Saint-Louis fut détruit la même année, par les Indiens Clamcoets[10] ou Karankawa,[11] et

[1] *Id.* p. 192.
[2] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, Extrait d'une lettre de l'abbé Tronson à l'abbé de Belmont, p. 355.
[3] *Id.* Commission pour le Sieur de la Salle, 14 avril 1684, pp. 382–3.
[4] *Id.* vol. III. Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 91.
[5] *Id.* pp. 121 et 192—Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, 1691, vol. II, p. 285. —D'Anville (*Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale*), 1746.
[6] *Rand, McNally & Co's Indexed Atlas of the World*, Chicago, 1884, p. 737.
[7] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, pp. 172–179—Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, pp. 290–2—Moll, *Map of North America*, (1710–1720).
[8] *Rand, McNally & Co's Indexed Atlas of the World*, p. 737.
[9] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 322.
[10] *Id.* Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Talon, par ordre de M. le comte de Pontchartrain, à leur arrivée de la Vera-Cruz le 14 septembre 1698, pp. 613–614.
[11] Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Washington, 1907–10. vol. I, p. 657.

en 1689 les Espagnols enlevèrent ceux que les Indiens avaient épargnés.[1]

La colonie du Texas ne subsista qu'environ deux ans, mais elle n'en vit pas moins l'établissement du catholicisme dans le pays. La Salle, en effet, était parti de France dans le double but de coloniser et de christianiser. En conséquence il avait emmené avec lui six prêtres, trois séculiers et trois réguliers.[2] Les séculiers étaient M. D'Esmanville, prêtre du séminaire de St. Sulpice,[3] qui retourna en France en mars 1685,[4] et les abbés Jean Cavelier, frère du découvreur, et François Chefdeville. Ces deux derniers avaient reçu de Nicolas Colbert, coadjuteur de l'évêque de Rouen, les pouvoirs de prêcher, de baptiser et d'exercer leur ministère ecclésiastique dans la nouvelle colonie.[5]

Les réguliers étaient trois récollets, les RR. PP. Zénobe Membré, supérieur de la mission, Maxime Leclercq et Anastase Douay.[6] Ces "missionnaires apostoliques" avaient été envoyés en Louisiane du contentement du roi de France[7] et de plus, ils avaient reçu de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande l'autorisation de prêcher la foi dans le pays, pendant que le pape Innocent XI leur accordait, par un bref spécial, "les pouvoirs et permissions authentiques" pour l'exercice de leurs fonctions.[8]

Ainsi les prêtres et religieux, qui faisaient partie de l'expédition, détenaient à la fois les permissions royales et les pouvoirs ecclésiastiques nécessaires à l'exercice et à la propagation du catholicisme dans un pays français d'outre-mer. Dès qu'ils furent installés dans le nouveau poste, sans tarder, ils mirent tous leurs soins à remplir leurs fonctions de prêtres et de missionnaires, à vaquer aux besoins religieux de la petite colonie et à tenter, à l'occasion, l'évangélisation des Sauvages. Il suffira de relever les faits les plus marquants de leur ministère.

Le 22 avril, jour de Pâques, on célébra, La Salle étant présent, "la grande feste avec toutes les solennités possibles où chacun reçeut son Créateur." Les cérémonies solennelles se prolongèrent

[1] La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des François en Louisiane*, Paris, 1831, pp. 3–4.
[2] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 92.
[3] *Id.* Joutel, p. 161
[4] *Id.* vol. II, Extrait du journal de M. d'Esmanville, qui estoit à la première navigation de M. de La Salle, et qui revint avec M. de Beaujeu, p. 510.
[5] *Id.* (Lettre de Nicolas Colbert, 27 mai 1684), p. 475.
[6] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 274.
[7] *Archives de la Marine*. B², vol. 55, Le ministre à M. le Cardinal d'Estrées, 30 juillet 1685, p. 120.
[8] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 275.—Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, (Décret de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande, 8 janv. 1685) p. 476; (Pouvoirs accordés par la pape Innocent XI, le 12 mars 1685) pp. 477–482.

pendant trois jours.[1] Durant toute cette année, la messe fut dite au fort chaque matin " dans une allée de la maison."[2]

Au mois d'octobre, à la suite de la capture de plusieurs Sauvages, une petite Indienne, " une fille de trois à quatre ans fut baptisée et mourut quelques jours après, comme les prémices de cette Mission et une conqueste seure qu'on envoyoit au Ciel."[3] Ce fut l'abbé Chefdeville qui fit le baptême.[4]

Plusieurs fois, par suite des mortalités causées par les maladies et les attaques des Sauvages, les missionnaires célébrèrent l'office des morts et donnèrent la sépulture chrétienne.[5]

A partir de mai 1686, à cause de la perte de plusieurs barriques de vin d'Espagne, on fut réduit à ne célébrer la messe que les dimanches et jours de fête. D'autre part, grâce à un fer à hostie, apporté par M. Chefdeville, on put faire des pains d'autel avec de la farine.[6] Au mois de mai de cette année, on construisit une chapelle de " pieux plantez, couverte d'herbe de roseau," et l'on y dressa un autel décoré d'images.[7] Cet fut la première église catholique, non seulement du Texas, mais de toute la Louisiane française. C'est dans cette chapelle, sans doute, que l'abbé Chefdeville célébra le premier mariage de la colonie, celui du sieur Barbier, officier, à l'une des filles venues de France.[8]

Cette même année 1685, La Salle décida de faire une nouvelle tentative dans le but de retrouver le Mississippi, et le 23 avril il se mit en route, emmenant avec lui son frère, l'abbé Cavelier, et le P. Douay.[9] Au cours du voyage qui dura plusieurs mois, d'avril à octobre,[10] ces deux prêtres s'appliquèrent, autant que possible, à prêcher l'évangile aux nations sauvages que l'expédition rencontra. Ainsi chez les Biskatrongé, ou nation des Pleureux, tribu des Coaques, nous dit le P. Douay, dans sa relation,[11] " nous tâchions le sieur Cavelier et moy comme nous avons fait partout ailleurs de leur insinuer la première connoissance du vray Dieu."[12] Chez les Cenis ou Caddo[13]

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[1] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, pp. 291–2.
[2] Margry, *Decouvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 235.
[3] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 294.
[4] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 227.
[5] *Id.* p. 161.—Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 296.
[6] Margry, *Decouvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 232.
[7] *Id.* p. 235.
[8] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 242
[9] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 303.—Joutel donne la date du 28 avril, Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 225.
[10] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Re'ation de Henri Joutel, pp. 225 et 249.
[11] Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. I, pp. 315–6.
[12] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 309.
[13] *Handbook of American Indians*, vol. I, p. 179.

également, les deux prêtres cherchèrent à faire entendre les enseignements de la foi chrétienne.[1]

Au retour du voyage en octobre 1686, les prêtres, MM. Chefdeville et Cavelier, et les Récollets consacraient tout leur temps à leur ministère, " travaillant de concert à l'édification des François et de quelques familles sauvages qui se détachoient des nations voisines pour se joindre à nous."[2]

Le jour de Noël 1686, on célébra la messe avec solennité et chacun fit ses dévotions, et l'on fit de même le jour de la fête des Rois.[3]

De ces faits, la conclusion s'impose clairement que les missionnaires qui accompagnaient La Salle en 1684-87, munis des permissions et pouvoirs requis, avec l'assentiment du souverain du pays, établirent effectivement le catholicisme dans le territoire qui s'appelle aujourd'hui le Texas.

II

Du fait de la colonisation de la Louisiane, quelle partie du territoire américain, située sur le golfe du Mexique ou sur l'Océan Atlantique, devint possession française et tomba en conséquence sous la juridiction de l'évêque de Québec? Ici, de nouveau, l'histoire nous donnera la réponse, en s'appuyant sur la géographie.

Il convient peut-être d'abord de s'assurer que la Louisiane se trouva — dès sa découverte — et resta jusqu'à la fin sous la juridiction ecclésiastique de Québec et de ses vicaires généraux résidant à Mobile ou à la Nouvelle-Orléans.

C'est Louis XIV lui-même qui se charge de nous l'apprendre. En effet, au cardinal d'Estrées, qui proposait de fonder dans la colonie à naître des missions relevant uniquement de Rome, le roi répondait que par la bulle d'érection de l'évêché de Québec, de 1674, il était dit en termes exprès que " cet Evesché s'estendra dans toute l'estendue des terres de la domination du Roy suivant les bornes qui seront désignées par Sa Majesté et approuvées par le St. Siège."[4]

" Ainsy ces bornes n'ayant point encore esté données, l'Evesque de Quebek a une juridiction naturelle en vertu de ses Bulles sur toute l'estendue des terres découvertes par les François et dont il a esté pris possession au nom de Sa Majesté, et si dans la suitte cette estendue de pais appelée la Louisiane devenoit plus connue et peuplée de François, Il serait nécessaire, non pas d'y envoyer des Missionnaires de Rome, mais d'y establir dans le temps un nouvel Evesché, auquel cas on donneroit des bornes certaines à celuy de Quebek, et

[1] Leclercq, *Etablissement de la Foy*, vol. II, p. 323.
[2] *Id.* pp. 329–330.
[3] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. III, Relation de Henri Joutel, p. 258.
[4] *Archives des Colonies*, B. vol. II. Mémoire sur les Missions du Canada, 19 mai 1685, pp. 280–2.

on remédieroit par ce moyen à son excessive estendue qui a esté objectée dans les Mémoires envoyez."[1]

Cette décision royale fit loi durant tout le régime français, car Québec resta le seul évêché de la Nouvelle-France et garda par conséquent la Louisiane sous sa juridiction.

Ainsi en 1703, le roi déclare ne vouloir prendre aucune décision sur les missions du Mississippi sans l'avis de Mgr de Saint-Valier.[2] C'est de lui que M. de la Vente, curé du fort, à la Mobile, en 1707,[3] tient ses pouvoirs de grand-vicaire dans la Louisiane.[4] Quand, en 1722, les Capucins veulent s'établir dans la colonie, ils doivent le faire " sous l'autorité de l'évêque de Québec."[5] C'est toujours de lui que relèvent les grands vicaires de la Louisiane, qu'ils soient supérieurs des Capucins ou supérieurs des Jésuites.[6]

Mais quelle étendue du territoire américain actuel sur le golfe du Mexique et l'océan Atlantique, tomba sous la juridiction de ces grands-vicaires louisianais? Leur autorité s'étendait-elle, par exemple, à une partie quelconque de la Floride, de la Géorgie, des Carolines et de la Virginie? Embrassait-elle même une partie quelconque des diocèses de la Pennsylvanie, par exemple, de celui de Scranton? Pour répondre à ces questions, il suffira, consultant les documents et les cartes de l'époque, de déterminer les limites de la Louisiane.

Dans son procès-verbal de prise de possession, La Salle nous l'avons vu, faisait entrer dans la nouvelle colonie, depuis l'embouchure de l'Ohio, du côté de l'est, tous les pays le long du fleuve Mississippi et des rivières qui s'y déchargent, depuis sa naissance jusqu'à son déversement dans le golfe du Mexique, en tirant jusqu'à la rivière des Palmes, à l'ouest.[7] C'est la même étendue qu'assigne à la Louisiane la commission de Louis XIV à La Salle, de 1684, lui donnant autorité sur la contrée qui va " depuis le fort Saint-Louis sur la rivière des Islinois jusqu'à la Nouvelle Biscaye."[8] En termes différents, ces deux documents indiquent les mêmes limites, comme on peut le voir par un coup d'œil sur la carte de D'Anville, qui place la rivière des Palmes sur le 25e degré de latitude.[9] Les cartes modernes ne donnent pas cette rivière qui est formée par la jonction des rivières Nassas et Sauceda.[10]

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[1] *Archives des Colonies*, B. vol. II, Mémoire sur les Missions du Canada, 19 mai 1685, p. 283.
[2] *Id.* vol. 23-3, à M. l'Evesque de Québek, 17 juin 1701, p. 67.
[3] *Archives des Colonies*. C[11], vol. 27-1, Mémoire (s.l.n.d.) p. 58.
[4] *Id.* M. Brisacier au ministre, 4 avril 1707, p. 47.
[5] *Id.* B. vol. 43-3, Ordonnance concernant l'Etablissement des Capucins, 27 juin 1725, pp. 679 et 681.
[6] *Id.* vol. 106, à M. l'abbé de L'Isle-Dieu, 14 sept. 1757, p. 174.
[7] Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. II, Procès-verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, pp. 191–2.
[8] *Id.* Commission pour le sieur La Salle, 14 avril 1684, p. 383.
[9] D'Anville, (*Carte de l'*) *Amérique Septentrionale*, 1746.
[10] Brookes, *Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary*, London, 1809, au mot: Palmas.

Avec le temps et les découvertes qui la faisaient mieux connaître, la description de la Louisiane, si vague au début, va se précisant. L'édit de Louis XV, qui la cède au sieur Crozat, comprend dans ses limites toutes les terres " bornées par celles du Nouveau Mexique et par celle des Anglais de la Caroline, les établissements, ports, havres, rivières, et principalement les ports et havres de l'Ile Dauphine appelée autrefois le Massacre; le fleuve Saint-Louis, autrefois appelé Mississippi, depuis le bord de la mer jusqu'aux Illinois, ensemble les rivières Saint-Philippe, autrefois appelées des Missouris, et Saint-Hiérosme, autrefois appelé Ouabache, avec tous les pays, contrées, lacs dans les terres et les rivières qui tombent directement ou indirectement dans cette partie du fleuve St. Louis."[1]

Quatre ans plus tard, dans un mémoire au gouverneur de l'Epinay, le roi résume sommairement les limites de la colonie, en disant qu'elle est située entre la Caroline à l'est et le Vieux et le Nouveau Mexique à l'ouest.[2]

La Harpe, qui parcourut la colonie dans tous les sens, remplissant diverses missions, a laissé, probablement en 1722, une description détaillée de ses limites. D'après lui, de l'ouest à l'est, la Louisiane va, sur le golfe du Mexique, de la baie Saint-Bernard au Rio Perdido, situé entre Pensacola et la Mobile, mais à l'intérieur elle va du Nouveau Mexique aux colonies anglaises. Du sud au nord, elle s'étend du golfe mexicain jusqu'au 38e degré à l'est du Mississippi et jusqu'au 45e à l'ouest de cette rivière.[3]

Suffisamment précises peut-être pour le nord et le sud, toutes ces délimitations restent plutôt vagues quant aux frontières orientale et occidentale. Car ce n'est pas solutionner la question que de donner à la Louisiane, à l'ouest les frontières de la Nouvelle Biscaye ou du Mexique, et à l'est celles de la Caroline, quand ces frontières elles-mêmes ne sont pas déterminées. Voyons, pour nous éclairer, comment les géographes contemporains, aidés des renseignements des ministères, les ont interprétées?

Le Maire, qui dressa sa carte sur les lieux mêmes, fixe la frontière occidentale de la province à la rivière du Nord, Rio Grande ou Rio Bravo del Norte.[4] La carte anglaise de Moll adopte la même limite pour la Louisiane à l'ouest.[5] Et De Lisle accepte également cette ligne trente ans plus tard.[6] D'autre part, ces deux cartes de Moll

[1] *Edits et Ordonnances*, vol. I, Edit du Roi portant l'Etablissement de la Louisiane par les sieurs Crozat, du 14e septembre 1712, pp. 327-8.

[2] *Archives des Colonies*, B. 38-3. Mémoire du Roy pour servir d'Instruction au Sr. de l'Epinay, Gouverneur de la Province de la Louisiane sur le service qu'il doit rendre au d. Pays, 20 oct. 1716, p. 717.

[3] La Harpe, *Journal historique de l'Etablissement des Français en Louisiane*, pp. 354-5.

[4] Le Maire, *Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et pais circonvoisins, dressée sur les lieux pour être présntée à Sa Majesté, T.C., 1816.*

[5] Moll, *Map of North America*, (1710-1720).

[6] DeLisle, *Carte des Nouvelles Découvertes au nord de la Mer du Sud, tant à l'est de la Sibérie et du Kamtchatka, qu'à l'Ouest de la Nouvelle-France*, 1750.

et De Lisle, assignent à la Louisiane pour frontière orientale la baie de Biloxi. Quant à la carte de D'Anville, elle limitait la colonie à l'ouest à la rivière des Palmes et à l'est à la Rivière Perdue ou Rio Perdido.[1]

Dernière en date, mais la plus précise de toutes, la carte de Nolin, dressée sur des observations et des cartes françaises et anglaises, donne, avec un tracé en couleurs, les limites de la Louisiane, qui sont à l'ouest le Rio Grande et à l'est le Rio Perdido. Elle fait, de plus, dans un cartouche, cette excellente description des limites du pays: "La Louisiane est située le long du fleuve Mississipi, depuis ce que nous connaissons de ce grand fleuve au Nord jusqu'à son embouchure et dans sa partie Méridionale depuis le long du Missouri, de la Rivière Rouge à l'Occident jusqu'aux Monts Appalaches et leur continuation qui la séparent des Colonies Angloises à l'Orient, à l'exception d'une portion des Costes Orientales depuis Rio Perdido qui appartient aux Espagnols."[2]

Voici maintenant, résumant les affirmations françaises, ces mêmes limites telles que décrites par Jefferys en termes géographiques. La Louisiane, écrit-il, s'étend du golfe du Mexique du 29e degré environ jusqu'au 45e degré du côté ouest du Mississipi, et jusqu'au 39e degré du côté est. Sur le golfe du Mexique, elle va d'environ le 86e degré au 100e de longitude ouest de Londres.[3] Plus exactement du 88e au 98e degré.

Ainsi les frontières de la Louisiane sont à peu près restées ce qu'elles étaient déjà sous La Salle. Si on a cédé à l'Espagne, à l'ouest, quelques lieues de territoire en reculant les limites de la rivière des Palmes au Rio Grande, on en a repris quelques-unes sur la même Espagne, à l'est, en reportant la frontière de la baie de Biloxi au Rio Perdido.

Concluons. De toutes ces affirmations documentaires et géographiques, il ressort que la Louisiane appuyait sa frontière occidentale sur le Rio Grande en remontant au nord-ouest jusqu'aux sources de Missouri, et sa frontière orientale sur le Rio Perdido jusqu'à sa naissance, et de là sur les Appalaches, en remontant vers le nord. Au sud, le golfe du Mexique lui servait de borne, et au nord, le Canada, dont le premier poste était le fort Ouiatanon sur la Ouabache, vers le 39e degré.[4] Ces frontières finirent par s'imposer. La ligne du Rio Grande et du Rio Perdido fut acceptée par les Etats-Unis. Ils en firent la base de leurs réclamations contre l'Espagne, qui la reconnut, en 1819, à l'occasion de la cession de la Floride à la république américaine.[5] Notons que de nos jours, ces délimitations subsistent encore

[1] D'Anville, (*Carte de l'*) *Amérique Septentrionale*, 1746.
[2] Nolin, *Carte du Canada et de la Louisiane qui forment la Nouvelle France et des Colonies Anglaises*, 1756.
[3] Jefferys, *The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America*, London, 1760, vol. I, p. 139.
[4] *C.O. 42*, vol. I–I, Heads of Enquiry relating to the State of Canada... Answered as far as relates to the Government of Montreal, May 1763, pp. 12–13.
[5] *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. XI, au mot: Perdido.

puisque le Mexique s'arrête au Rio Grande del Norte et que la Floride ne dépasse pas le Rio Perdido.[1] Même l'Angleterre a pratiquement admis le bien fondé de la frontière française des Appalaches, puisqu'immédiatement après la conquête du Canada, elle en faisait la limite occidentale que ne devaient pas franchir les colonies américaines.[2]

Des faits précédents, au point de vue particulier, qui nous occupe, deux conclusions s'imposent, semble-t-il:

1° La domination française en Louisiane eut pour extrêmes limites sur le golfe du Mexique, le Rio Grande del Norte à l'ouest, et le Rio Perdido à l'est. Conséquemment, la juridiction de l'évêché de Québec, s'exerçant aux termes même de sa bulle de création dans "l'estendue des terres de la domination du Roy", porta sur tout le pays compris entre ses deux bornes. Ainsi passèrent sous l'autorité religieuse des grands vicaires louisianais, le long du littoral du golfe mexicain, les territoires qui forment aujourd'ui les Etats du Texas, de la Louisiane, du Mississippi et de l'Alabama, ces quatre Etats étant situés entre le Rio Grande et le Rio Perdido.

Quant à la Floride, elle fut et demeura espagnole jusqu'à la fin du régime français et la conclusion semble s'imposer que les grands vicaires louisianais ne possédèrent sur elle aucun droit ecclésiastique. Mais il y a autre chose.

Il faut d'abord mentionner qu'en février ou mars 1718, les Français, sous Châteauguay, établirent un fort en Floride, à la baie Saint-Joseph, dans l'actuel comté de Calhoun. Cette occupation fut très brève: au mois de mai, la garnison française abandonna le poste faute de vivres. Les Espagnols y formèrent un établissement.[3]

En mai 1719, de plus, les Français s'emparèrent de Pensacola, durent le rendre aux Espagnols en août, le recapturèrent en septembre[4] et le gardèrent jusqu'en 1723.[5]

De ces occupations passagères d'un territoire ennemi, quelle déduction doit-on tirer? Puisque l'évêché de Québec avait pour ressort toute "l'estendue des terres de la domination du Roy", il semble bien qu'il faille admettre que, pendant les brèves périodes d'occupation de la baie Saint-Joseph et de Pensacola, ces territoires furent sous la juridiction des grands vicaires de la Mobile.

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[1] *Rand, McNally & Company, The Library Atlas of the World*, 1912, vol. I, pp. 240–1: pp. 126–127.
[2] Shortt & Doughty, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, 1759–1791, The Proclamation of 1763, pp. 121–2.
[3] La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, pp. 141–3.
[4] La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, pp. 148, 150 et 163.
Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, New York, 1904, vol. I, p. 69.

2° *Aucune partie du territoire américain, située sur l'océan Atlantique* ne tomba, du fait de l'occupation de la Louisiane, sous la domination française, *mais certaines parties intérieures d'Etats américains, situés sur le Sud-Atlantique,* appartinrent à la France et par conséquent passèrent sous la direction des grands vicaires de Québec en Louisiane.

Ici encore, c'est une question de géographie. Nous l'avons vu, la frontière que la France reconnaissait entre le Canada et la Louisiane, formant la Nouvelle-France, et les provinces anglaises, c'est la chaîne des Appalaches. Il suffit de citer sur ce point La Galissonnière, la plus haute compétence française en la matière, qui écrit: "Toutes les cartes ont placé les bornes des possessions anglaises au sommet des montagnes Appalaches. La carte de People... n'est pas plus favorable aux prétentions de l'Angleterre."[1] La carte de Nolin éclaire d'un tracé en couleur cette ligne frontière.[2] Une carte anglaise contemporaine présente un tracé qui suit la même chaîne de montagnes.[3]

Cette frontière admise, la question se solutionne facilement. Tout territoire arrosé par des rivières coulant vers l'ouest appartient au versant occidental, et ainsi à la vallée mississipienne, qui constitue la Louisiane française. Tout territoire arrosé par des rivières qui se jettent dans l'Atlantique, appartient au versant oriental, et conséquemment aux possessions anglaises. Pour connaître les parties des Etats américains de l'Atlantique qui furent sous la domination française, il suffit d'indiquer les territoires du versant occidental des Appalaches.

D'abord la Géorgie. L'extrême partie nord-ouest de cet Etat renferme plusieurs tributaires du Mississippi, telles les rivières Hiawasse, Little Tennessee et Chickamauga. Ce coin du territoire géorgien, qui inclut approximativement les comtés de Dade, Catoosa, Walker, Chattooga, Rabun, Towns, Union, Fanning, Gilmer, Murray et Whitefield, fit partie de la Louisiane française et du domaine religieux des grands vicaires de la Nouvelle Orléans.[4]

La Caroline du Sud ne compte que des rivières qui se déchargent directement ou indirectement dans l'Atlantique. Aucune partie de son territoire ne releva donc de la Louisiane politiquement, ni de Québec ecclésiastiquement.[5]

La Caroline du Nord voit couler sur son sol quelques tributaires du Mississippi, entre autres les rivières Hiawassee et Little Tennessee. On peut réclamer, en conséquence, comme ancienne portion du

[1] *Archives des Colonies*, C11 A. vol. 100, M. de la Galissonnière à M. Rouillé, 7 mars 1755, p. 421.
[2] Nolin, *Carte du Canada et de la Louisiane, qui forment la Nouvelle-France, et des colonies anglaises*, 1756.
[3] *A New Map of North America from the latest Discoveries*, (1763).
[4] *Rand, McNally & Company, The Library Atlas*, vol. I, pp. 110-111.
Id. pp. 106-7.

territoire louisianais et du diocèse québecquois, les comtés de Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Macon, Transylvania, Henderson, Buncombe, Madison, Haywood, Swain, Ashe, Alleghany, Watanga, Avery.[1]

En Virginie se rencontrent également plusieurs rivières, telles la Holston, la Clinch et la Great Kanawha, qui finalement se déversent dans le Mississippi. Appartiennent par suite à l'ancienne colonie française et à son autorité religieuse les comtés de Lee, Scott, Washington, Grayson, Carroll, Wythe, Pulasky, Montgomery, Giles, Tazewell, Buchanan, Dickinson et Wise.[2]

Quant à la Pennsylvanie, la question diffère, car la frontière de la Louisiane, qui s'arrêtait entre le 38e et 39e degré ne confinait pas à celle de la province anglaise, cette dernière ne dépassant que fort peu le 40e degré. Ainsi donc, les grands vicaires en Louisiane ne pouvaient d'aucune façon prétendre à une juridiction sur son territoire.

Mais d'autre part, la Pennsylvanie s'appuyait au Canada et l'on peut se demander si l'évêque de Québec eut juridiction sur cette province. La réponse est facile. L'Etat pennsylvanien qui va pratiquement de l'Atlantique au lac Erié, se trouve scindé diagonalement par la ligne frontière des Appalaches en deux portions, l'une à l'est, territoire anglais, l'autre à l'ouest, terre française sous la juridiction épiscopale canadienne. Mais comment se départagent ces deux portions?

La Pennsylvanie compte six diocèses. Celui de Pittsburg, dont la ville épiscopale occupe le site de l'ancien fort Duquesne, où séjournèrent des aumôniers et des missionnaires, comprend dix comtés arrosés par l'Ohio, la Monongahéla et l'Alléghany et leurs tributaires. Il est donc entièrement dans l'ancienne colonie du Canada et fut de fait sous la direction de l'évêque de Québec.

Le diocèse d'Erié, situé en bordure du lac de ce nom et occupant la région où s'élevaient les forts français de la Presqu'île, de Machault et de Venango, comprend treize comtés dont neuf sont arrosés par le lac Erié et ses tributaires, et par des affluents du Mississippi. Ces comtés, Crawford, Erié, Warren, Potter, Venango, Forest, Clarion, Jefferson et McKean, relevaient donc de la colonie laurentienne et de son autorité épiscopale. Des quatre autres comtés, trois, ceux de Potter, Elk et Clearfield, sont en partie arrosés par des tributaires du Mississippi et en partie par des tributaires de l'Atlantique; ils n'appartiennent donc que partiellement à cette double juridiction française et catholique. Enfin le treizième, celui de Cameron, est entièrement en territoire anglais.

[1] *Id.* pp. 98–99.
[2] *Rand, McNally & Co., The Library Atlas,* vol. I, pp. 82–83.

Le diocèse d'Altoona comprend huit comtés, dont trois, ceux de Fulton, Centre et Clinton, appartiennent au versant oriental ou britannique. Quant aux cinq autres, Cambria, Bedford, Blair, Huntingdon et Somerset, ils se partagent entre les deux versants étant partiellement arrosés à la fois par des tributaires du Mississippi et de l'Atlantique. Donc sur la partie de leurs territoires située à l'ouest des Appalaches existait, avec la domination française, la juridiction religieuse de Québec.[1]

Quant aux diocèses de Scranton, ses onze comtés sont arrosés par les deux branches de la Susquehanna, tributaires de l'Atlantique, et appartiennent au versant oriental des Appalaches. Ils furent toujours sous la domination anglaise, et ne connurent pas la juridiction ecclésiastique de Québec. Les diocèses de Philadelphie et de Harrisburg se trouvent également dans la portion anglaise de la Pennsylvanie.

La seconde partie de cette étude s'est efforcée d'indiquer, aussi rigoureusement que possible, les territoires qui sont compris dans les Etats américains situés sur le golfe du Mexique ou sur l'océan Atlantique, et qui firent partie des possessions françaises. Sur ces territoires s'exerçait la juridiction de l'évêque de Québec, du moins potentiellement, ou *de jure*, comme disent les hommes de loi. Cette juridiction s'exerça-t-elle *de fait* sur tous ces territoires? C'est une autre question, peut-être impossible à résoudre, puisque les représentants de cette juridiction n'étaient que des aumôniers, accompagnant des troupes, ou des missionnaires, attachés à des tribus indiennes en mouvement. Sa solution d'ailleurs ne changerait rien aux résultats du présent travail.

[1] Pour cette étude des diocèses et de leurs territoires, on peut consulter *The Catholic Encyclopedia* et l'*Atlas* de Rand, McNally & Co., qui donnent les noms et la situation des comtés.

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THE COMPILATION OF A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE REBELLION OF 1837-38

BY

FRANCES STATON

I wish to bring to the notice of the Canadian Historical Association a pamphlet just issued by the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Library—an institution with which I have been connected for many years. This pamphlet is entitled "The Rebellion of 1837-38. A Bibliography of the sources of information in the Public Reference Library, Toronto."

The compiling of this work being assigned me, it is now my purpose to give a short account of the method and procedure followed in the gathering and arranging of the material contained in the bibliography, a subject which, while it may not be exactly entertaining or amusing, may at least prove of some interest to many who would wish at some time to make a special study of that important event, which was to become a powerful factor in shaping the destinies of our country, and in its development politically and socially.

A few years ago, after due consideration of the subject, Dr. Locke decided to have published at intervals a series of bibliographies of material available in the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Library, gathering together all the resources of the library on a particular subject, in this way bringing to light many of the treasures of which we were possessed, and making known to the public generally, our great wealth of material on various Canadian topics. Our object secondly was by these means to aid those who were desirous of following some particular course of historical study, and to make their fields of investigation as interesting and as fruitful as possible.

Our first attempt was a list of all the early Canadian printed books and pamphlets in the Reference Library, dating from 1764, when the first printing press was established in this country, to the year 1837, giving us a very good idea of the progress of printing and publication in Canada during that period. This, our first effort, proved very successful and we were encouraged to continue the good work.

Our next contribution to the series was more ambitious, we having decided on a bibliography of one of the most salient points in the history of our country—that of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837—both in Upper and in Lower Canada.

Having undertaken this work I was rather appalled at its magnitude and felt that it was no easy task, but it was a favourite theme in Canadian history, which made the work more congenial, and as I went on it became exceedingly fascinating and absorbing.

Having decided on the subject the next thing to consider was the plan of campaign in regard to the research work. In this respect no trouble was anticipated so far as the general material was concerned, for the Canadiana of our Reference Library as a general collection cannot be surpassed, and it is one of which Toronto, and in fact all Canada, may be justifiably proud.

It is not within the scope of this paper to enter into any of the details of the causes and agitation that led to the rebellion nor to comment on any of the events connected with it. The purpose is now to explain the nature and arrangement of the bibliography by mentioning the different sources investigated for material.

The first source to be noticed are the books—and in order for the student and others to arrive at a fair and accurate knowledge of the causes that led to the rebellion of 1837-8, it will be necessary to go back to the beginning of the history of our country and besides making a careful study of the French Régime, and the earlier history of the English period, to read, mark, learn, and digest the Quebec Act of 1774 and the Constitutional Act of 1791. In this connection too may be read, "The Seventh Report from the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada on Grievances, etc.," and "The ninety-two Resolutions of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada," also Lord Durham's "Report on the Affairs of Canada."

In this way, a list was made of all the histories of the rebellion, then of the most important histories of Canada which dealt in any detail on the subject. This in itself presented quite a creditable list.

After this an excursion was taken into the realm of books, seeking hither and thither for individual chapters for odds and ends, and out-of-the-way information, which search was very satisfactorily rewarded. This source proved a most interesting one, obtaining as we do the view-points of the different authors, and seeking many items of local interest that we do not find in the general history.

Next to be entered was the field of romance with the hope of gleaning there at least a few tales and stories founded on such an exciting and interesting topic as the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-8, my search being rewarded by securing several works of fiction.

I then turned my attention to pamphlets, in which we are particularly wealthy. Our collection on, and relating to, our subject is a very valuable one, containing as it does a great wealth of material on the rebellion and the causes and events connected with it. As an aid to the study of history it cannot be denied that their value is inestimable. A pamphlet is generally written on some important topic, or some event, or some question political or social, that is agitating the minds of the people at the time, and its interest is enhanced by the fact that it only relates to present day questions. As

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an instrument in shaping and moulding the opinions of the people in times of political storm and stress especially, it is as a rule very keen and convincing. Pamphlets, like some periodicals, do not enjoy a very long existence. Many of them, like human beings, are only born to die. They are seldom reprinted—hence the importance of preserving them as aids to research and the study of history for future generations.

The next source of investigation was the "Transactions of Learned Societies." Of these, of course, there were only certain ones that would be likely to contain any of the desired information. However, some very useful papers were discovered and among others entries have been made from the following: Niagara Historical Society Publications, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Johns Hopkins University Studies, The Buffalo Historical Society, Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Ontario Historical Society.

From the source Government Documents the material was quite profuse, and need not be dwelt upon here, as every one is quite familiar with the nature of their contents, comprising as they do parliamentary debates and discussions, reports of committee, petitions, memorials, proclamations, etc., all of which are valuable assets in regard to historical study.

Our scrap books, too, were not to be despised as an aid to our bibliography. Among these are two which deal particularly with the rebellion. One is composed of extracts from the Montreal *Star* which deal almost entirely with the insurrection in Lower Canada. The other is one which our Chief Librarian, Dr. Locke, was fortunate enough to secure in London, England, when on a visit there several years ago. It consists of copious clippings from American papers of that period such as the *Herald and Sentinel,* Philadelphia, the *Ledger* and *Daily Transcript,* the Rochester *Democrat,* the *Pennsylvanian,* and others. These cuttings contain many items we have not found elsewhere, and are especially valuable because of the light they throw on the subject of American sympathy and opinion.

Another by-path to the highroad of history was found in the magazine literature, and though not quite so productive of results as the pamphlets, a good many valuable articles were brought to light. This literature is much akin to that of the pamphlets, the articles being written chiefly with the object of expressing the views and opinions of the writers on some vital and outstanding questions of the day. We cannot, therefore, overlook the fact of their importance, they having always proved a reliable and unfailing friend in need. It may be of some interest to mention a few of the magazines contained in the bibliography where material on the subject may be

obtained. For instance, the *Annual Register, Acta-Victoriana, Blackwood's Magazine, Canadian Christian Examiner, Canadian Magazine,* the *Colonial Magazine, Dublin Review, Dublin University Magazine, Electric Review, Fortnightly Review, Fraser's Magazine, Littell's Living Age, Magazine of American History, Mirror of Parliament, New Dominion Monthly, Niles' Register, Nineteenth Century, North American Review, Quarterly Review* and *Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly.*

Last but not least, and the most interesting and prolific of our sources, were the newspapers, of which we have a very representative collection dating from 1830 to the end of the rebellion period. Their contents proved a veritable embarrassment of riches. The task of examining them was a formidable one, but on searching through the files, turning over one by one the musty yellow leaves, such a mine of wealth was revealed that I only realized for the first time the immense value of the newspaper as an historical source.

Much more so than periodicals and pamphlets are they a revealer of public sentiment and opinion. Much more vividly do they chronicle the daily events of the times, and by a thorough search one cannot fail to bring to light many important facts and much curious information which it would be impossible to find elsewhere. From the papers also we obtain a much more graphic and accurate picture of the period than we can possibly do from other sources. We find them a true mirror of past events, and their contents unusually interesting, receiving as we do a delightfully clear and vivid account and description of the occurrences of those bygone days. Some idea of the nature of the material may be gained by saying that in these may be found discussions and debates in the Houses of Parliament on many vital questions concerning the province, despatches, messages, and instructions of the Imperial Government to Governors of the provinces, the replies in return, etc.

There are the accounts of the organization of various societies, both constitutional and reform, their reports, meetings, etc. Then a wealth of very useful matter may be culled from the proceedings of the numerous public meetings that were held in every section of the province in order to attest loyalty to the Crown or otherwise. The resolutions read and adopted and the speeches, almost invariably ending with an address to the King or Queen, expressing their unyielding allegiance, or presenting a petition of grievances.

There are interesting editorials, letters from citizens and residents in the province, each voicing his opinion on the events and troubles of the day. We find also accounts of the battles and skirmishes that took place, in connection with which there is a mass of official correspondence.

There we find also many proclamations and messages of the President of the United States, relative to the troubles on the frontier, besides addresses and militia orders, as well as detailed reports of the trials of some of the political prisoners, the charge of the judge to the jury, and his speech on passing sentence.

The following are among some of the papers examined: The *Loyalist,* the *Canadian Courant,* the *Western Mercury,* Quebec *Gazette,* Cobourg *Star,* the *Vindicator, British American Journal, Canadian Correspondent,* Brockville *Recorder, Upper Canada Courier,* Dundas *Weekly Post, Correspondent and Advocate,* Montreal *Transcript,* the *Traveller* or *Prince Edward Gazette,* Toronto *Mirror,* the *Church,* the *Examiner* and the *Globe.*

The amount of material selected from the papers is rather a formidable one, consisting as it does of several hundred entries, many of them curious and amusing. The task was no easy one but I felt rewarded for the labour by the fact of having amassed a great deal of information on the rebellion that was quite foreign to me before.

This then is the plan on which the bibliography on the rebellion was prepared, and which will also form the basis for compiling other bibliographies on special Canadian topics, which we hope to be able to issue from time to time.

In addition to the above mass of material we have in the archives of our library two unique and valuable items relating to the rebellion which I should like to mention. One is the flag that was taken from the steamer *Caroline* when she was captured by Captain Drew and sent blazing over the Falls on the 29th December, 1837. This flag was afterwards given to Lieutenant McCormick as a recognition of the prominent part he took in the skirmish, and of the severe wounds he received at the time.

A number of years afterwards Lieutenant McCormick gave the flag to Captain Drew, who subsequently presented it to the United Service Museum at Whitehall, where it hung for many years, but on the museum being removed to other quarters the flag was not rehung.

A number of years ago the Board of the Toronto Public Library, through the late Dr. Bain, then Chief Librarian, requested the transfer of the flag to that institution. After some negotiations this request was complied with, and ever since this flag has been one of our most valued possessions.

The other item consists of the original petition of the loyal inhabitants of the city of Toronto to Her Majesty the Queen against the Rebellion Losses Bill. It is written on sheets of vellum making a roll twelve feet long, containing three columns of signatures, among them the names of many of the most prominent residents of the city at that time.

This document, just recently acquired, is especially valuable to us because of its local interest and our possession of it is to be attributed to the watchfulness and alertness of our Chief Librarian, Dr. Locke, who is always so keen to secure for our library any valuable out-of-the-way material of Canadian historical interest. The petition is a very interesting one and reads as follows:—

"To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, Inhabitants of your Majesty's Loyal City of Toronto in Western Canada most humbly beg to approach your Majesty with expressions of our devoted loyalty to your Majesty's person and government and humbly and most respectfully to represent to your Majesty—That we view with unfeigned astonishment the measures proposed by the present provincial Administration of this province for payment of losses in the Lower province consequent on the Rebellion of 1837 and 1838, whereby the consolidated revenue of the province is to be charged (already heavily burthened) with a further large amount of debt—the Upper Province having already paid all recognized claims for losses sustained in the defence of the Crown in that section of the country out of her own peculiar revenues, and now being asked to share in the additional burthen arising from the interest on the Debentures proposed to be issued.

"We beg most humbly and respectfully to declare to your Majesty that it is our positive conviction that if the proposed measure be forced through the Provincial Legislature it will be diametrically opposed to the wishes of at least four-fifths of the inhabitants of Canada West without distinction of politics; and that it will be a memorable instance of Taxation without Representation, the people by whom the present House of Assembly was elected not being consulted thereupon and a vast majority being opposed thereto.

"That independently of the palpable injustice of the measure as a question of financial burden and taxation we cannot refrain from expressing our sense of the absurdity and mockery of continuing to call ourselves subjects of the Crown of England and using your Majesty's name in public and judicial proceedings, and yet submitting to taxation for the purposes of payment of a very large sum of money to reimburse losses alleged to have been sustained eleven years ago by a population in open insurrection against your Majesty's authority.

"We therefore humbly and earnestly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take this our humble representation into your Majesty's favourable consideration and disallow any measure granting remuneration to any party implicated in the late unnatural Rebellion in these Provinces against your Majesty's Crown and Dignity for loss sustained in consequence thereof."

In conclusion I should like to say that all the material quoted in the bibliography is always readily available and at the service of any one who at any time may wish to consult it at the Toronto Public Reference Library.

THE BEAVER CLUB

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

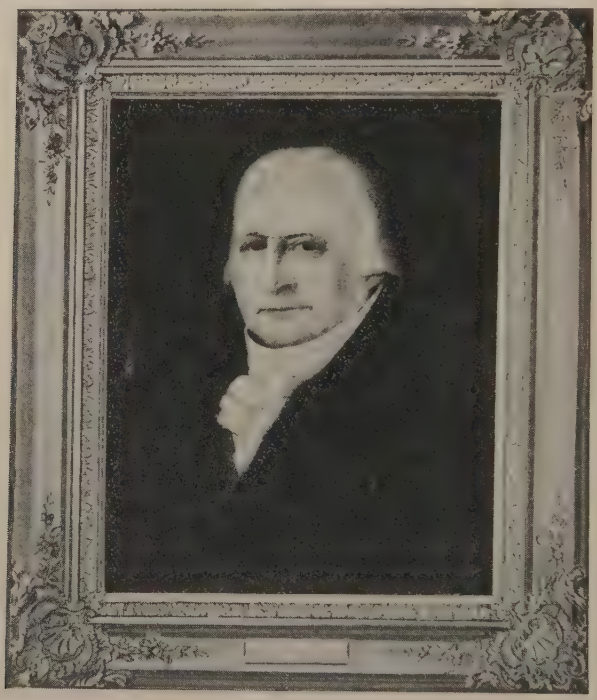
The Beaver Club was established at Montreal in 1785, by the same group of men who founded the North West Company. L. R. Masson, in the Introduction to his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest,* describes it as an exclusive organization, to which no one could be admitted who had not passed the test of a winter in the *pays d'en haut* and received the unanimous vote of the members of the club.

I shall not attempt to describe in any detail the historic background of the Beaver Club, which grew naturally out of the coalition of Montreal merchants engaged in the western fur trade. Very soon after the cession of Canada, British traders began to make their way into what was called the Indian country, first to Michilimackinac, then to Grand Portage at the western end of lake Superior, and later to lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. These independent traders gradually came together in partnerships, but the competition was so severe that the various interests found it imperative to unite in one concern. In 1779 nine distinct firms signed an agreement for one year. This contract was renewed in 1780 for three years, but only lasted two. In the winter of 1783-84, however, a third agreement was signed for five years under the name of the North West Company. The men who thus created the great trading rival of the Hudson's Bay Company, realizing the value of a social medium in welding their commercial interests into one, established the Beaver Club.

Of the original members of the club—nineteen in number—four had made their first trip into the Indian country before the capture of Quebec, that is to say during the French period,—Charles Chaboillez (1751), Maurice Blondeau (1752), Hypolite Des Rivières (1753), and Etienne Campeau (1753). Gabriel Coté had gone west the year of the taking of Montreal, 1760, and Alexander Henry, the first of the British traders, the following year. The three Frobisher brothers, Benjamin, Joseph and Thomas, dated from 1765, 1768 and 1773 respectively; James McGill from 1766 and his brother John four years later. The remainder of the nineteen were Louis Joseph Ainse (1762), George McBeath (1766), James Finlay (1766), Peter Pond (1770), Mathew Lessey (1770), David McCrae (1772), John McNamara (1772) and Jean Baptiste Jobert (1775). Finlay, so far as is known, was the first British trader to get as far west as the Saskatchewan.

One notes the omission from this list of several names of men that were prominent in the fur trade of the period, such as Peter

Pangman, John Gregory, A. N. McLeod, and Alexander Mackenzie. As a matter of fact in 1784, the year before the club was formed, these four had organized a rival trading partnership in opposition to the North West Company. Three years later the opposition was abandoned and these men joined the company. Some of them, however, Mackenzie in particular, were not happy among their new associates, and in 1795 what was known as the X Y Company was estab-



Joseph Frobisher.

lished, largely it is said because of the unpopularity of Simon McTavish. Mackenzie left the old company in 1799 and joined the X Y Company in 1801. The death of McTavish in 1804 once more brought the rebels back into the fold. It was therefore not until some time about the reorganization of the Beaver Club in 1807 that Mackenzie and his associates of the X Y Company became active members of the club, although they had been actually elected some time before.

Another and more curious omission is that of Simon McTavish, who with the Frobishers was mainly instrumental in organizing the North West Company. So far as the records show, McTavish was

never a member of the Beaver Club. Possibly he kept out of it because he disliked to meet some of his associates on a footing of equality, or perhaps he realized that he would be a disturbing element in such a place. Masson, in a footnote to his *Bourgeois*, says: "Mr. Simon McTavish was very much disliked by the majority of the wintering partners who, on account of his haughty demeanour, called him "The Premier", "The Marquis".

Other notable omissions, in later years, were David Thompson and Daniel Williams Harmon, but the obvious explanation in their case is that they were out-and-out westerners who never came farther east than Grand Portage or Fort William until they finally left the Indian country, Thompson after nearly a quarter of a century's service and Harmon at the end of nineteen years. In any event, neither was the type of man to feel at home in a social club.

A word or two about some of the original nineteen, of whom, according to Joseph Frobisher, only six were living in 1807—Charles Chaboillez, Alexander Henry, George McBeath, Maurice Blondeau, James McGill, and himself.

Benjamin, Thomas and Joseph Frobisher were Englishmen who had come to Montreal not long after the cession of Canada, and had engaged in business. There are in the McGill Archives a number of very interesting documents known as the Frobisher Papers, which include a letter book of Joseph Frobisher, 1787-88, and his diary 1806-10. From these we get a good deal of light on the Frobishers and their associates, on the North West Company and the fur trade, and on the Beaver Club. Benjamin Frobisher died in 1787 and Thomas Frobisher the following year. Joseph was the most active of the three, having penetrated west as far as the Churchill river where, in 1774, he built a trading post. The following year he accompanied Alexander Henry up the Saskatchewan. He died in 1810. He had built a home, "Beaver Hall," on Beaver Hall Hill, which was burnt in 1847. It has been described as a long wooden cottage, surrounded by trees, and standing about half way up the hill.

James McGill, born in Glasgow in 1744, emigrated to the United States, and came north to Montreal, where he was a prosperous merchant. He died in 1813, leaving his estate of Burnside with £40,000 to found the university which has since borne his name. He is described as tall, with a commanding figure, handsome in youth, with a tendency to corpulency in advancing years: a frank, social temperament. He sat in the first parliament of Lower Canada 1792, became a member of the Legislative Council, and chairman of the Executive Council, 1812. He commanded Montreal volunteers in the War of 1812.

Alexander Henry was born in New Jersey, and came to Montreal in 1760. He entered the fur trade, and started west the following year. His "Travels and Adventures" describes his experiences for the following sixteen years. He sailed for Europe in 1776, where he made the acquaintance of Sir Joseph Banks, then president of the Royal Society, and had an opportunity of telling the story of his adventures to Marie Antoinette. He had been introduced to the French Court by Abbé La Corne, a brother of the Canadian officer, St. Luc de la Corne. Henry died in 1824. Parkman's account of the Indian massacre of the garrison at Michilimackinac in 1763 is based upon Henry's narrative.

James Finlay had gone west in 1766, but, more ambitious or adventurous than his associates, he had not been content to trade with the Indians at Michilimackinac or Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay or Grand Portage, but had pushed on toward the setting sun. We have the evidence of Matthew Cocking, one of the early explorers of the Hudson's Bay Company, that Finlay had built a trading post on the Saskatchewan and wintered there in 1767. Eight years afterward we find him mentioned as one of the twelve "most respectable citizens", six English and six French, who drew up the articles of capitulation of Montreal to Montgomery. In 1796 he was warden of Christ Church. He died some time between the latter date and 1807. His son married Gregory's sister.

Peter Pond, one of the most singular of the many remarkable men engaged in the western fur trade, was born in Milford, Connecticut, in 1740. The evidence of his wanderings depends almost entirely on his own maps and occasional references in narratives of his contemporaries, for, although he left a manuscript journal, comparable only to that of Radisson as an example of eccentric spelling, when it was discovered in Connecticut by one of his descendants some years ago, the greater part of it was gone, having been used, it is said, for kindling the kitchen stove. That kind of unintentional but none the less unfortunate vandalism has deprived the world of many an invaluable record of the past.

Pond was a born adventurer, apparently never so happy as when pushing his way into some unexplored region of the far west. He was a man of violent temper, and fought three duels during his eighteen years in the west, in each of which his opponent was killed. One cannot quite picture him as a member of the Beaver Club, and indeed so little of his time was spent in Montreal that he could not have been much more than a nominal member.

As a matter of fact, he had been sent down to Montreal from the west in 1784, to answer for the death of a trader named Wadin. The following year—the year the Beaver Club was founded—he was in

Quebec presenting a memorial to the Governor regarding his western discoveries. He started back the same year, remained in the west until 1788, and then left the North West Company, returning to Milford, where he died in 1807.

These scattered notes may serve the purpose of introducing the group of fur traders who organized the club in 1785. Of the club itself, little is known before the year 1807, when it was, in the language of the minutes, "renewed and newmodeled". From January of that year up to and including the year 1817, minutes were kept by the secretary, and again in the single year 1827. These minutes fortunately have been preserved. It does not appear that any minutes were kept until 1807, nor between 1817 and 1827. The club remained active from 1785 to September, 1804. Between the latter date and January, 1807, it apparently was in a state of suspended animation. Meetings were held regularly between 1807 and 1817, generally once a fortnight from December to April. Internal evidence points to the fact that in 1817 the club gave up the ghost. Ten years later it was made the victim of a belated attempt at resuscitation, but, like some similar efforts in human experience, this one proved abortive. The club, after tottering through three meetings, died again and was decently and permanently buried in March, 1827.

The disappearance of the club after 1817 is not hard to understand. These were critical years in the fur trade. The long period of guerilla warfare between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, punctuated every now and then with such fatal episodes as the Seven Oaks affair, was proving disastrous to both companies. The rival traders were in fact drifting into very rough water, and wisely determined to unite their forces instead of each wasting its energy trying to destroy the other. The union took place in March, 1821.

The spasmodic revival of the club in 1827 seems to have been mainly due to Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, of which the old North West Company was now a part. In a letter from Simpson to Roderick McKenzie, dated Lachine, January 10, 1827, he says: "Your brother and a few North-Westers have promised to assist me to-day in discussing the merits of a roasted beaver; I shall sound them about the plan of renewing the Beaver Club, but fear the season is too far advanced to do anything on it this winter. Accept my best thanks for your attention in sending me the rules."

Something evidently did come of it because we find a meeting of the Beaver Club held eight days later, at the house of William Blackwood. At this meeting Simpson, James Keith and a Mr.

Ferries were elected new members. However, this is telling the story of the Beaver Club backwards, and it may be wise to get back to 1807.

Up to that time nineteen additional members had been added to the original nineteen, now, it will be remembered, reduced to six, and five honorary members. The added members, with their year of election, were: Jean Baptiste Jabeau (1787), Joseph Blakeley (1787), Patrick Small (1789), Nicholas Montour (1790), V. St. Germain (1790), John Gregory (1791), Jacques Giasson (1791), Myers Michaels (1793), Isaac Todd (1795), William McGillivray (1795), Alexander Mackenzie (1795), Angus Shaw (1796), Roderick Mackenzie (1796), Duncan McGillivray (1799), George Gillespie (1799), Jacques Porlier (1801), Alexander Cuthbert (1802), Alexander Fraser (1803) and Simon Fraser (1803). The honourary members were Captains John Edwards, Errol Boyd and Alex. Patterson, of the company's ships, and Captain Daniel Robertson and Major William Doyle, who had commanded the garrison at Michilimackinac.

A very few notes will suffice to identify the more important of these names. A number of them were parties to the reorganization of the North West Company in 1790, that is to say, Alexander Mackenzie, Montour, Small, Gregory, William McGillivray. Gregory was one of the earliest of the fur traders, and for several years shared with McTavish and Frobisher the responsible position of agent of the North West Company at Montreal. Alexander Mackenzie got his first training in Gregory's counting house in Montreal.

Of the great explorer, the man who first traced the mighty stream that bears his name to the Arctic, and first realized the long dream of an overland route to the Pacific, it is not necessary to say anything here. His cousin Roderick McKenzie did notable service in the west, having among other things built Fort Chipewyan, that once famous centre of the fur trade, established the Athabaska Library, and rediscovered the Kaministikwia route. He spent some years gathering material for a history of the North West Company, but the project for some reason fell through. The journals and other material he collected are now in the Public Archives at Ottawa and the McGill University Library. A number of them were published by Masson in his *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-ouest.*

Roderick McKenzie and Simon McTavish each married daughters of Charles Chaboillez. Other cases of the connection by marriage of North West Company families have been or will be mentioned. In fact we have in the group of men who made up the Beaver Club something much more like a Family Compact than that which was known by the name in Upper Canada.

William McGillivray and his brother Simon were associated with their uncle McTavish in the firm of McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, which succeeded that of McTavish, Frobisher and Company. William McGillivray was one of Selkirk's most determined opponents. Fort William was named after him. He became a member of the Executive Council of Canada, and died in 1825. Duncan McGillivray, who was also at one time a member of the firm, discovered Howse pass in 1800. John McDonald of Garth, in his Autobiographical Notes, says he was " as fine a fellow as ever lived". He died in 1808.

Simon Fraser, the narrative of whose extraordinarily difficult and dangerous journey down the gorge of the Fraser in 1808 is included in Masson's collection, also needs no particular introduction. Patrick Small, according to a manuscript note of Roderick McKenzie, was a nephew of General Small of the 42nd Highlanders. David Thompson, the famous explorer, married his half-breed daughter. Isaac Todd was among the earliest of the British merchants of Montreal. We find him going security in 1767 for the fur trading license of Thomas Curry, who was the first British trader from Montreal to follow Finlay to the Saskatchewan. That Todd was a man of very considerable influence in the councils of the North West Company is made evident by the fact that one of its principal vessels, which supplied the trading posts on the Pacific coast direct from London, was named the " Isaac Todd." It had been sent out in the first instance to oppose Astor's ambitious plans at Astoria. This vessel brought trading goods to the Pacific coast, then sailed with furs to China.

Dr. Atherton, in his *History of Montreal,* mentions a Dr. Daniel Robertson, a retired lieutenant of the 42nd Regiment, who practiced medicine in Montreal about this time, and who no doubt is the Captain Daniel Robertson elected an honourary member of the Beaver Club in 1793.

It will be convenient to discuss briefly at this point the Rules of the club, apparently adopted in February, 1807.

Article 1 provided that the club should consist of not more than forty members and eight honourary members. This number was increased in 1815 to fifty with ten honourary members; and in 1817 to fifty-five, with the same number of honourary members.

The second article provided that no new member should be admitted except with the unanimous consent of all the members present, to be taken by ballot, and proposed at the previous meeting. This particular rule was intended to be like the laws of the Medes and Persians, for the eighth article, while conceding the right of the majority of the members to adopt such further regulations as might be thought desirable from time to time, makes the exception, " but

the rule for receiving a member cannot be altered." Nevertheless it was altered on one occasion, or at any rate ignored, several new members, because of special circumstances, being proposed and elected at the same meeting.

The third article provided that every member should have the liberty of inviting as many guests as he thought proper, on condition that he gave timely notice to the provider, or as we would say to-day the caterer. At one of the last meetings of the club, in January, 1827, this rule was amended by providing that no member should be allowed to invite more than three guests. However, at the last meeting of the club in March, 1827, George Simpson (afterwards Sir George) is credited with no less than ten guests. The saying that club rules are made to be broken evidently has something more than a present-day application.

The fourth article gave liberty to each member to drink as he pleased after the club toasts had gone round, and to retire at his pleasure; and the ninth article set forth the club toasts as: 1st The Mother of all Saints; 2nd. The King; 3rd. The Fur Trade in all its branches; 4th. Voyageurs Wives and Children; and 5th. Absent Members.

By the fifth article, no member might have a party at his house on club days, nor accept invitations, but if in town must attend, unless prevented by indisposition.

The sixth compelled each member to wear his medal on club days, with a ribbon of sky blue, or forfeit one dollar. In January, 1827, it was resolved that every member of the club, out of respect to the memory of William McGillivray and other deceased members, should wear his medal with a black ribbon.

The reference here is to the famous gold medal of the Beaver Club, examples of which are found both in the Chateau de Ramezay and the McCord Museum in Montreal, those in the Chateau having belonged to Robert Henry and Gabriel Coté, and those in the McCord Museum to James McGill and Hypolite Desrivières. There is also one in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, somewhat different in character, having been presented to Archibald McLennan in 1792 by the Beaver Club for some act of bravery. He is said to have been elected a member of the club in 1814, but I cannot find any record of it in the minutes.

By the seventh article, the club was to commence its meetings the first week in December and continue once a fortnight to the second week in April. There was also to be what were called Summer Clubs for the captains of the fur ships, who were eligible as Honourary Members. Colonel Landman, in his *Adventures and Recollections,* mentions a house at Lachine owned by the North West Com-

pany, "wherein an abundant luncheon was awaiting our arrival", and Mr. Lynn Hetherington, in an article on the Beaver Club in the "University Magazine," some years ago, suggests that this was the Summer Club maintained for the use of the captains.

If they were all treated here as generously as Landmann, they must have had merry times, for that entertaining traveller tells us that he and his companions, who included Sir Alexander Mackenzie and other members of the North West Company, with officers of the 60th Regiment, made such a night of it that by six o'clock the only two left at the table were Mackenzie and McGillivray, both seasoned Scotchmen; the rest, as Landmannn says, having fallen from their seats; he himself to save himself from being trampled upon, having contrived to draw himself into the fireplace, where he sat up in one of the corners, there being no stove or grate.

"Lachine," says Adèle Clarke in *Old Montreal*, "was the Hudson's Bay headquarters and the place from which the voyageurs used to start for the west." (This was, of course, after the union of the two companies in 1821). "Every spring they launched a fleet of canoes with seven or eight hundred voyageurs. Chief Factor Sir George Simpson's house stood where the convent now is, and the old storehouses and an ancient log dwelling of a primitive character still stand in an excellent state of preservation on the river bank there. The history of the latter was said to go back two hundred and fifty years. Sir George Simpson, who was the controlling spirit of the Northwest in his day, died in 1860, at Lachine".

The eighth article provided that fines should be imposed for a breach of any of the regulations. In December, 1815, a new rule was adopted, that any member neglecting to put down the names of his guests before dinner should forfeit six bottles of Madeira wine to the club of the day.

The presiding officer at the club dinners was the president, under whom was a vice-president and a cork. A new rule adopted in 1815 imposed upon the vice-president the duty of delivering to the secretary of the club, in the course of the week following each Club Day, the account of the expenses of the day, with the names of the members present and their guests, and imposed a penalty of six bottles of Madeira if this duty were neglected. The unfortunate vice-president also had to make good any deficiencies arising from his neglect.

The president was to name the vice-president as his assistant for the day, and the latter his cork, and these were to succeed in rotation to the chair. All unmarried members having servants were required to bring them to the club.

86025—6

There is no evidence as to where the Beaver Club met previous to 1807, but that year it made use of the City Tavern, kept by one Wm. Hamilton, in January, February, March, and April; and in November of the same year switched its patronage to Richard Dillon, who kept a hostelry variously known as the Montreal Hotel, Dillon's Tavern, Dillon's Coffee House or Dillon's Hotel. The tavern was on the southwest corner of St. James street and Place D'Armes. It was pulled down about 1858 to make way for the Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Company's building. Dillon, besides being a shrewd and successful inn-keeper, was also an artist of some ability, as witness his sketches of Montreal in 1800.

Dillon's Tavern.

At the meeting of the club on January 28, 1807, a warm discussion arose over the name of the club, the new members urging that it should be changed to the Voyageurs Club, and the old members objecting. On its being put to a vote, the twelve members present split even, and it was then decided that the question should be determined by the toss of a dollar. If the coin fell head uppermost the club should retain its name; if downwards, it would be changed to the Voyageurs Club. The dollar fell head uppermost, and the secretary remarks feelingly "the club retains its original name as when first instituted in 1785—Beaver Club".

Joseph Frobisher was secretary of the club at this time and it is interesting to compare the entries in his manuscript Diary, 1806-10, with the Minutes of the Beaver Club. And this brings up again the question as to the meeting place of the club. The idea that prevailed for some time that the Beaver Club had a definite and fixed meeting place, or in other words a club house, was of course erroneous. Both the Club Minutes and Frobisher's Diary make this quite clear. The Club held its fortnightly meetings, or at any rate most of them, in one or other of the popular Montreal taverns of the period. As already mentioned, the City Tavern was used in the early part of 1807, and Dillon's Hotel later in the same year, and from that time to the end of 1815, when for some reason the place of meeting was changed to Palmer's Tavern, and the following year to Tesseyman's. At any rate the club bill that year is in favour of one Tesseyman. In 1817 the meeting took place at the Mansion House Hotel, and in 1827 at the Masonic Hall Hotel.

A point arises here as to whether or not the club ever met at the homes of its members. The only meeting of that kind mentioned in the club minutes was on January 18, 1827, when it took place at the house of William Blackwood. That, however, seems to have been only a business meeting to reorganize the club, as distinguished from the regular club dinners. In Frobisher's Diary, under date March 10, 1810, one finds the entry "Dined at home. Beaver Club. Major Loyd and Mr. Burke guests;" and on the 24th of the same month, "Dined at home. Beaver Club." Does Frobisher mean that the club met those nights at his house, that is to say at the famous Beaver Hall on Beaver Hall Hill, or that he deliberately broke the sacred rule of the club and was consequently mulcted so many bottles of Madeira or whatever the fine was at that time? The minutes of the club furnish the answer. Frobisher is entered as ill and therefore is not fined. His guests are entertained at the club.

Frobisher mentions in his Diary a Bachelor Club, which met at Gillis Coffee House in 1807; also a Sociable Club which met at the City Tavern, possibly another name for the Bachelor Club. He notes that the City Tavern was sold at public auction at Gillis Coffee House, April 4, 1808, to David Ross for £1,380 stg.

April 9 of the same year, he notes the death of Duncan McGillivray, and under date of the 11th, he writes: "Duncan McGillivray was buried at the mountain in McTavish Family Vault." That is the old vault half way up Mount Royal, the grounds of which are now in a very dilapitated condition. Mourners: Mr. McGillivray and Judge Reid, Frobisher and R. Mackenzie, Fraser and Hallowell, Todd and Ogden, J. Reid and son, B. Frobisher and Hallowell, Henry

86025—6½

BEAVER HALL HILL

Taken from near McGill and St. James streets, Showing the Hay Market, now Victoria Square, Beevor Hall (note the spelling) near the centre, distinguished by its poplars, the Weigh-House to the left, and on the extreme right a small portion of the American Presbyterian Church.

and Chaboillez, Caldwell and Jo Frobisher. Pall-bearers: Pothier, Blackwood, Wm. McKay, D. Mackenzie, Garden, Thain. April 17 the mourners and pall-bearers attended at Church with their scarfs and hat bands, after the will was read at D. McGillivray's own house.

April 7 Frobisher was one of a party at Lachine to see the canoes off. A similar entry in May, 1809; and in May, 1810, "Dined at Lachine. The N.W. Canoes sett off."

May 27, 1808. "Went to St. Rose to the election of the county of Essengham, with an intention of proposing Mr. Rod MacKenzie, but found the party formed and himself not present and not known to them. I declined. Joseph Duclos and Joseph Meunier both Habitants who could neither read or write was elected."

June 5, 1809. "Public Dinner at City Tavern to celebrate the King's Birthday."

May 25, 1810. "Dined at Mr. McGillivray. Sir Alex. Mackenzie arrived from London by N. York."

June 28, 1810. "The Steam Boat with Governor Gore and his Lady Mr. and Mrs. McGillivray and the children set off at 11 o'clock for Quebec."

But to return to the Beaver Club and its minutes. One learns that in 1807, the club dinners at the City Tavern ranged in cost from £8.4 to £21.17, and the individual expense for the seven meetings from £3.5 to £20.14. It appears from an entry at this time that the gold medals of the Club cost £3.10 each.

When the place of meeting was changed to the Montreal Hotel, in November, 1807, the club made an agreement with Dillon to pay for the dinners 7/6 a head, for Madeira wine 6/ per bottle, and for Port Wine bottled in England 5/ per bottle. Members' bills for the next dinner ran from £1.15 to £3.10. One surmises that wine made up a considerable proportion of the bill. At one of the subsequent meetings John Finlay's dinner cost him £4.1.3.

Dillon's bill against the club for one of their dinners in the 1807-8 season would make the hair of a prohibitionist stand on end:—

To 32 dinners at 7/6	£12
29 bottles Madeira 6/-	8.14
19 bottles Port 5/	4.15
14 bottles Porter 2/6	1.15
12 quarts ale	.8
7 suppers	.8.9
Brandy and gin and negus	5.
Segars, pipes and tob	5.6

One gathers that the conduct of the members of the club was, nevertheless, fairly seemly, as only three wine glasses were broken. A dinner on December 16, 1809, appears to have been marked with

not quite such decorum, as a decanter and four glasses were broken during the evening. But this, after all, pales before Colonel Landmann's dinner with the Nor'Westers, as described in his *Adventures and Recollections*. Although those who made up the party were nearly all members of the Beaver Club, it was not a club dinner, but was given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and William McGillivray, who were at that time living together in bachelor apartments.

" In those days " says Landmann " we dined at four o'clock, and after taking a satisfactory quantity of wine, perhaps a bottle each, the married men, viz., Sir John Johnson, McTavish, Frobisher, O'Brien, Judge Ogden, Tom Walker and some others retired, leaving about a dozen to drink to their health."

Among these were probably Sir Alexander Mackenzie and his cousin Roderick, William and Duncan McGillivray, Alexander Henry and perhaps Simon Fraser and Isaac Todd, with Landmann and some others.

"We now began in right earnest and true highland style, and by four o'clock in the morning, the whole of us had arrived at such a degree of perfection that we could all give the war-whoop as well as Mackenzie and McGillivray, we could all sing admirably, we could all drink like fishes, and we all thought we could dance on the table without disturbing a single decanter, glass or plate by which it was profusely covered; but on making the experiment we discovered that it was a complete delusion, and ultimately we broke all the plates, glasses, bottles, &c. and the table also, and worse than all the heads and hands of the party received many severe contusions, cuts and scratches. . . I was afterwards informed that one hundred and twenty bottles of wine had been consumed at our convivial meeting, but I should think a great deal had been spilt and wasted."

The very spirited account of the Beaver Club meetings which Dr. C. B. Reed has given in his *Masters of the Wilderness*, was, one suspects, based largely upon this story of Colonel Landmann's, and is therefore more or less of a libel upon that dignified club.

One notes among the guests at the club dinners, officers of the famous 100th Regiment, the 49th, 24th, 41st and other corps. Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William Johnson, and at this time Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, was a frequent guest; as was also Captain, afterward Colonel, John By, who was later to build the Rideau Canal and give his name to Bytown, now Ottawa.

In September, 1808, the guests included General Drummond, afterward Sir George Drummond, who commanded the troops in Upper Canada in 1813-14, and succeeded Prevost as Administrator; Colonel Sheaffe, later Sir R. H. Sheaffe, who succeeded to the com-

mand at Queenston Heights after the death of Brock; and John Jacob Astor. Astor, says Ross Cox, in his *Adventures on the Columbia River*, "made proposals to the North West Company to join with him in forming an establishment on the Columbia river. This proposition was submitted to the consideration of a general meeting of the wintering proprietors, and, after some negotiations as to the details, rejected. Mr. Astor, therefore determined to make the attempt without their co-operation, and in the winter of 1809 he succeeded in forming an association called the Pacific Fur Company, of which he himself was the chief proprietor." The founding of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia, was one of the results of this movement. As Astor dined at the Beaver Club in September, 1808, it is not too much to conjecture that he was at this time sounding the partners of the North West Company on this very project. He, it must be remembered, had been pretty closely identified with the fur trade that had its base in Montreal, and it is said that he perfected himself in the business in the office of Alexander Henry. Astor's plans, according to Alexander Ross, were extremely ambitious. He "was to have annihilated the South Company; rivalled the North West Company; extinguished the Hudson's Bay Company; driven the Russians into the Frozen ocean; and with the resources of China to have enriched America." If that was his dream, it was not quite realized.

Isaac Brock was a guest of the club in 1808 and again in 1810, with Major, afterward Major-General, Herriot. Herriot served under De Salaberry at Chateauguay. One finds also the names of such well-known Montrealers of the period as Mr. Justice Ogden, Dr. Selby, James Baby, Mr. Justice Reid, later Chief Justice, and Dr. Adam Thom, then practicing law in Montreal, and afterward Recorder of Ruperts Land. Also Colonel John Murray, who led the assault on Fort Niagara, and rose to the rank of Major General, and Colonel Henry A. Proctor, whose name is associated with the unfortunate engagement at Moraviantown in 1813.

Lord Selkirk had been a guest of the Beaver Club in 1804. Thirteen years later, when he was engaged in his ambitious undertaking of planting a settlement on the banks of the Red river, his former hosts, now his bitter opponents, made the serious charge that he had used his privileged position as a guest to obtain information that he used afterward to injure the North West Company. "His enquiries" says the *Narrative of Occurrences,* published on behalf of the North West Company, "were readily answered by these gentlemen, who withheld no information which could gratify the liberal and useful researches of a noble traveller. They remarked at the time,

that these enquiries were more extended than usual," and he is charged in so many words with abuse of their hospitality. Masson accepts the charge as authentic, in the Introduction to his *Bourgeois*; Dr. Bryce, in his *Selkirk* thinks it groundless; and Chester Martin, in his *Selkirk's Work in Canada* demonstrates clearly enough that, whether or not Selkirk made use later of information obtained in Montreal in 1804, there is no reason to suppose that he deliberately misused his privileges as a guest. It was in fact not for some years after that date that he began to interest himself in the possibility of colonizing the Red river country.

It may be convenient to note here certain alleged details in connection with the Beaver Club dinners, that appear to have been first suggested in Dr. Bryce's *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* elaborated in his *Selkirk,* and repeated in Professor Martin's book, in Reed's *Masters of the Wilderness,* and in an article in the *University Magazine* by Lynn Hetherington, " Canada's First Social Club."

Speaking of the members of the Beaver Club, Dr. Bryce says: " The appointments of their club house were notable. On their tables silver and glassware, of a kind unknown elsewhere in Canada, shone with resplendent light at their feasts. . . Bear, beaver, pemmican, and venison were served in the fashion of the posts, song and dance gave entertainment during the evening, and when wine brought exhilaration in the early morning hours, partners, factors and traders, in the sight of all the servants or *voyageurs* who happened to gain admittance, engaged in the " *grand voyage* " which consisted in all seating themselves in a row on the rich carpet, each armed with tongs, poker, sword, or walking stick to serve as paddle, and in boisterous manner singing a *voyageur's* song, " Malbrouck " or " A la Claire Fontaine", while they paddled as regularly as the excited state of their nerves would allow".

Now it is possible that Bryce may have got this story from Selkirk's papers, but he does not mention his authority, nor do any of the others who have followed him. There is, it is true, nothing inherently impossible, or perhaps even improbable, in the story, but one would like to know just how and where it originated.

Both Dr. Reed, and Dr. Atherton in his *History of Montreal,* say that the calumet entered into the proceedings. " The members " says Dr. Atherton, " recounted the perils they had passed through and after passing around the Indian emblem of peace " the Calumet " the officer appointed for the purpose made a suitable harangue."

Another statement, found first in Masson's *Bourgeois,* and repeated by Bryce and other writers, is that there are still to be met

with in Montreal pieces of silverware and glassware formerly the property of the Beaver Club. Mr. Hetherington embellishes this bald statement by adding that these " table appointments, stamped and engraved with their crest of the beaver, were unsurpassed for richness and beauty in crystal, silver and linen".

Mr. Hetherington mentions, in addition to the plate, certain snuff boxes associated with the Beaver Club, which are now owned by some of the Canadian families, and adds that at the last meeting of the club, which he says was disbanded in 1824, the Earl of Dalhousie, who was then Governor-General of Canada, was present, and gave to each of the twenty members a silver snuff-box, with solid gold edges. On the cover was engraved: " The Earl of Dalhousie, to . . . . in remembrance of the Beaver Club, 24th May, 1824".

Dr. Reed makes the sale of one of these snuff-boxes in New York in 1894 the text of his article on the Beaver Club. It was one presented to James Hughes of the North West Company. Dr. Reed tells his story of the club and its environment as coming from a grandson of Hughes, who had it from the old fur trader. Incidentally, he prints in a foot-note the information that Robert McCord (founder of the McCord Museum in Montreal) " inclines to doubt the authenticity of the snuff-box".

I am not quite sure that Dr. Reed was not trying to pull our legs with these alleged reminiscences of Hughes, but if it was serious, the story is not altogether convincing. Hughes is described as one of the pillars of the Beaver Club, and is said to have had Selkirk as his guest at the club again and again in 1809. Now there is nothing in the minutes of the Beaver Club to support the statement that Selkirk was a guest in 1809. As a matter of fact he was then on the other side of the Atlantic, developing his Red river scheme. Hughes was not elected a member of the club until 1813. Selkirk spent the winter of 1815-16 in Montreal, but at that time he was about the last man in the world that would have been invited to the Beaver Club.

" Washington Irving " says Dr. Reed " had sat at the great table of the club on many an occasion. Here he received the impetus and developed the interest which subsequently culminated in those fascinating tales of the wilderness, *Astoria, A Tour of the Prairies,* and *Captain Bonneville*.....In 1804 Thomas Moore was the guest of the Club. . . . Hither in due time came the celebrated astronomer, geographer and explorer, David Thompson. . . Later on Sir John Franklin, then a lieutenant, sat with many others in the great hall, brimful of life, buoyant with hope. . . and here he pledged the health of the club while the piercing northern blasts were howling over the brow of the neighbouring Mount Royal", &c., &c.

All this one is rather inclined to take with a grain of salt. Washington Irving certainly was not a guest of the club between 1806 and its final meeting in 1827, as the minutes show. Between 1804 and 1806 he was in Europe, and again between 1815 and 1832. Before 1804, he was a very young man, reading law in New York. There is no confirmation of a visit to Montreal at that time.

Thomas Moore was certainly in Montreal in 1804, and may have been entertained at the Beaver Club. David Thompson, however, could not have been there either as member or guest, as he landed at Fort Churchill in 1789, and from that time until 1812 he was never nearer Montreal than Fort William. There is nothing in the minutes of the club to suggest that he was present after that date. Franklin was in America in 1819-1822, but came and went by way of York Factory, and was never anywhere near Montreal. He made a second expedition to the Arctic Coast in 1825-1827. On this journey he went out by way of New York, and returned in the summer of 1827 by the Ottawa river route to Montreal. Therefore it would be in August, 1827, if at all, that Franklin was a guest at the Beaver Club. But unfortunately, the very last meeting of the Beaver Club was in March of that year. Altogether one is forced to conclude that these reminiscences of James Hughes, as told to his grandson, and reported by Dr. Reed, are not quite authentic.

The minutes of the Beaver Club, though not so picturesque, are at least dependable. The list of members in 1810-11 shows 15 in town, 5 in the neighbourhood, 4 in England and 9 in the Indian country, with 7 honorary members, 40 in all. We find the same total in 1814, with 24 in and about Montreal, 10 in the west, and 6 overseas. Of these, Sir Alexander Mackenzie was in Scotland, Thomas and John Forsyth and Isaac Todd in London. In a letter from Alexander Henry to John Askin dated May 9, 1815, he says, "I received a letter a few days ago from our old friend Todd. He was then at Bath taking the mineral waters, and says if his leg gets better he will return to this country as he has no friends in any other. I expect he will come by New York. He is not the only one whom old age deprives of friends. I must say that I experience every day the want of old acquaintances. They are all dead. There is only one alive in Montreal that was here when I came. I know but very few. What do you think of our Beaver Club which commenced in 1786 and consisted of 16 members (the old man's memory was a little at fault)—and I the only one alive. Our late friend McGill was the last and a great loss he was to Montreal."

Lieut. Col. McKay, who had succeeded Joseph Frobisher as secretary, was himself succeeded this year by George Moffatt. It is noted

that in 1814 the only survivor of the original nineteen members was Alexander Henry.

John Johnston, whose "Account of Lake Superior" is included in the second volume of Masson's *Bourgeois*, and who had been elected to the club in 1808, attended a meeting in November, 1814, where he read the following original composition, which was evidently appreciated, as it was duly spread upon the minutes:—

Ye wanderers o'er Canada's wide domain,
What pleasure here to meet you once again!
Here, to recount the toils and perils past,
Perils and toils still longer doom'd to last.
For soon, again, the base incidious foe
With rage inspired, will strike a second blow,
Renew the sum of pillage, or of fire,
As hatred, envy, or revenge inspire.
Ours then the task, a gen'rous aid to lend
To those that now our Beaver Lodge defend;
And with the Hunter's force, the Hunter's art,
Renew their stores, and cheer each manly heart,
Who bravely suffers in a barb'rous clime,
To raise the British name & character sublime!
Our freeborne Allies too deserve applause—
Faithful to Britain and her sacred cause;
With patience suffering in the arduous strife
Tho' oft deprived of all the sweets of life.
Soon, then, as this portentous storm is o'er,
And peace our traffic shall again restore,
Be it our constant effort to improve
The Indian's comforts, and secure his love.
And may the *Beaver Club* from year to year
In peace renew its social meetings here.

Among the guests in 1814 were General Brisbane, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Mr. Ermatinger and Colonel Talbot. This may have been the same Ermatinger who was a magistrate at Sault Ste Marie in 1814 when Selkirk went through, and who declined to accompany him to Fort William to assist in bringing those responsible for the Seven Oaks affair to justice. Talbot was of course Thomas Talbot of the Talbot settlement in Upper Canada, and author of *Six Years in the Canadas*.

In 1815 there were eleven meetings, for which Dillon's bill was £399.4. The eighteeen members who partook of these meals were out of pocket sums ranging from £4.2.10 to £52.13.2. Imagine paying $250 for eleven dinners, even though this included guests! In December of this year F. A. Larocque, one of the new members, and author of "The Missouri Journal" in the first volume of Masson's *Bourgeois*, was fined one dollar for appearing without his medal. Henry Mackenzie suffered the same penalty in April, 1816. Larocque was elected

Secretary this year. There were 45 members in 1816 with 4 honorary members.

Among the new members elected in 1817 was Dr. John McLoughlin, who after the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies in 1821 was to become one of the outstanding figures in the fur trade on the Pacific coast. He had been born near Quebec the year before the founding of the Beaver Club, and married the widow of Alexander Mackay, who had been elected a member in 1809, and perished in the *Tonquin* two years later. Townsend describes McLoughlin as " a large, dignified, and very noble looking man, with a fine expressive countenance, and remarkably bland and pleasing manners," and bears tribute to his invariable and disinterested kindness. McLoughlin's election was one of the last acts of the Beaver Club, before it went into retirement for ten years.

There is very little to record in connection with the meetings of the revived club in 1827. The bill for the February meeting includes £4 for singers, 9/ for a broken chair, and 15/ for broken glasses, so that the dinners were still somewhat lively. The guests included General Gordon, one of the Molsons, a Mr. Heaven and Mr. Dunlop, perhaps William Dunlop of the Canada Company, familiarly known as "Tiger" Dunlop.

And that was the end of the Beaver Club.

SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

BY

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

During the past year the work of preserving and marking historic sites, recommended by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada as being of national importance, was steadily carried on. At a general meeting of the board, which acts in an advisory capacity to the department, forty additional sites were selected for action, in addition to the one hundred and twenty-six previously recommended. The present personnel of the Board is as follows:—

Chairman—Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa, Ontario; J. H. Coyne, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., St. Thomas, Ontario; His Honour F. W. Howay, LL.B., F.R.S.C., New Westminster, B.C.; J. Clarence Webster, B.A., M.D., (Edin.), etc., Shediac, N.B.; Victor Morin, B.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., Montreal, Quebec; J. B. Harkin, Commissioner of Canadian National Parks, Ottawa, Ontario.

Secretary—Major A. A. Pinard, Department of Interior, Ottawa.

Owing to the large number of sites to be marked and the small appropriation available, the policy which has been adopted is to provide for the present only for the actual work required to prevent deterioration of existing ruins, and for the erection of a simple design of a standard in the form of a shaft, cairn or boulder, to carry the standard bronze tablet.

This tablet is of a very artistic nature and the several phases of Canadian history have been symbolically worked into the frame. The centre panel bears an inscription setting out the historic data pertaining to the reasons for the commemoration of the site. Forty-two of these tablets have been cast to date, and an additional order for forty was recently placed.

Local societies and organizations are working in accord with the department, and sentiment is already growing strong in connection with this national work, which is practically in its infancy.

SITES MARKED

The following twenty-six sites have been marked to date by the erection of memorials, and in most instances the unveiling ceremonies carried out:—

Maritime Provinces

Fort Cumberland, N.B. (about four miles from Amherst, N.S.)

Formerly old French Fort Beauséjour, erected in the middle of the 17th century, near Beaubassin, one of the most important Acadian settlements. Captured by the British in 1755 and named Fort Cumberland. Ruins of a fort of five bastions and of the old barracks are still visible. The site, comprising an area of 5½ acres, was enclosed with a suitable design of wire fence, a cobble stone cairn, tablet and flagpole erected, and action has been taken to preserve the ruins from further deterioration. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Monckton, N.B. (about 1½ miles from Port Elgin.)

Formerly old Fort Gaspereaux, erected by the French in 1750 at Bay Verte to command the defence of the Isthmus of Chignecto; captured by the British in 1755. The site containing the remains, which consist of a square of trenches and the old cemetery, is controlled by the Department of Marine and Fisheries. A cairn and tablet were erected and the old cemetery fenced. Part-time caretaker appointed.

St. John, N.B.

A large granite boulder, to which is affixed a tablet, was erected on a site provided by the city in Market Square to commemorate the landing of the United Empire Loyalists, May 18, 1783, who, because of their loyalty to the British Crown, were forced to leave their homes and possessions and migrate to Canada.

Fort Lawrence, N.S. (three miles from Amherst, N.S.)

Erected in 1750 by Major Charles Lawrence at Misagouche, and proved an important factor in the struggles between the French and English during the eighteenth century. The only remains are vague traces of the trenches. A cairn and tablet were erected, surrounded by a fence, on a plot of land adjacent to the highway which was donated by Mr. David Lawrence. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Shelburne, N.S.

A boulder and tablet were erected on a site provided by the town at the intersection of King and Bay streets facing the harbour, commemorating it as the Loyalist Town of Nova Scotia, which was settled in the years following the close of the American Revolution by men and women determined to remain under the flag and rule of Great Britain rather than become citizens of the United States. The first fleet of settlers arrived in the harbour, which was then known as Port Roseway, on May 4, 1783, and the town was laid out during the same year.

Champlain's Habitation, Lower Granville, N.S.

A cairn and tablet, enclosed by an iron chain fence, were erected on a plot of land gratuitously donated by Mr. Jacob Robblee to commemorate the site of the first fort or "Habitation" of Port Royal, built by the French under De Monts and Champlain in 1605. This fort was attacked and partially destroyed by a British force from Virginia in 1613, restored and occupied by Scottish Colonists in 1629 and laid waste on their retirement from the country in 1632. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Charnisay, St. John, N.B.

Erected by Sieur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, Governor of Acadia in 1645, and occupied later by Governor Charles de la Tour. Rebuilt by Governor Villebon in 1698 and restored by Boishébert in 1751. Again rebuilt and renamed by General Monckton in 1758. Dismantled in 1768. A boulder and tablet were erected on a site provided by the city of St. John.

QUEBEC

St. Maurice Forges (near Three Rivers.)

These forges, situated on the St. Lawrence river about seven miles from the present city of Three Rivers, were established in 1730 by Poulin de Francheville and from them, for many generations, the people of Canada were supplied with stoves, axes, nails, bars, hammers, spades and other utensils. On the occasion of the American revolution in 1776, guns were manufactured there for the defence of Canada. Only a few crumbled ruins of the furnaces together with the chimney of the forges now remain. A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land donated by Mr. Ernest Marchand and the site was suitably fenced. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Battle of Three Rivers, at Three Rivers.

A boulder and tablet were erected on a small plot of land facing des Forges street, donated by Mr. W. Michelin, and the site enclosed with a suitably designed fence, to commemorate the military operations that took place there during the American invasion of 1776. Early in June of that year an attack was made on Three Rivers which was without garrison or defence. A corps of volunteers was organized who succeeded in holding the enemy at bay until the arrival of reinforcements from Quebec. A constant fire was maintained and the American forces were eventually dispersed with a loss of about 200 men. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Laprairie, at Laprairie.

A cairn and tablet were erected in a small park which now occupies the site of the old fort. This was a refuge for the settlers during a quarter of a century of wars, 1687-1713, and was the scene of an unsuccessful attack by New England States Militia troops during the nights of August 10 and 11, 1691. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 23 last, in accordance with arrangements made by the town of Laprairie.

Site of Battle of Three Rivers, Three Rivers, P.Q.

Second Battle of Laprairie (four miles from Laprairie.)

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land donated by Mr. David Daigneault, and the site enclosed with a suitably designed fence, to commemorate the military operations which took place on the same day as the Battle of Laprairie, namely August 11, 1691. The New England column, under the command of Major Peter Schuyler, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the French and their Indian allies during the engagement. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 23 last in conjunction with those at Laprairie.

Ontario

Kingston, First Meeting Place of Executive Council of Upper Canada.

A tablet was placed on the walls of the building occupied by the Whig Publishing Company on King Street, which stands on the site

of old St. George's Anglican Church in which, on July 8, 1792, Lord Simcoe held his first meeting of the Executive Council of the Province of Upper Canada. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on July 5, 1923, on the occasion of the joint meeting of the Ontario and Kingston Historical Societies.

Glengarry House, (four miles east of Cornwall.)

A cairn and tablet were erected, adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto Provincial highway, on a small plot of land donated by Mr. R. J. Craig, and enclosed with a suitably designed fence, to mark the site of Glengarry House and to commemorate the services of Colonel the Honourable John Macdonnell, a leading pioneer in the settlement and organization of the present province of Ontario. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 17, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Glengarry and County's own Chapter, I.O.D.E. of Alexandria.

Battle of the Windmill, near Prescott.

A tablet was placed on the old picturesque windmill situated on the north bank of the St. Lawrence river, one mile east of Prescott, to commemorate the victory over an invading force of American Filibusterers on November 13, 1838.

Battle of Chrysler's Farm, near Morrisburg.

A tablet was placed on the existing monument adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto highway, five miles east of Morrisburg, to commemorate the victory over an invading American force at the battle which took place there on November 11, 1813, during the war of 1812-14. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Ste. Marie II, Christian Island, near Penetanguishene.

A boulder and tablet were erected on a plot of land donated by the Indians, and the site suitably fenced, to commemorate the Jesuit Fort, Ste. Marie II, built in 1649-50 for the protection of the missionaries and the Hurons, as a last stand against the Iroquois. The ruins of the fort are to-day easily traceable, and the walls have been restored to an average height of three feet. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 15, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Penetanguishene Historical Society. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Mission of St. Ignace, near Victoria Harbour.

A cairn and tablet were erected on a site donated by Mr. Charles E. Newton, comprising $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres, which was suitably fenced. This is the most probable site of the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries,

86025—7

Fathers Breboeuf and Lalement and of the Huron village captured by the Iroquois on March 16, 1649. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on September 15, 1923, the necessary arrangements having been made by the Penetanguishene Historical Society.

Unveiling ceremonies, Ste. Marie II, Christian Island, Ont.

Port Dover "Cliff Site."

An artificial stone cross, sixteen feet high, was erected in 1922 on a plot of ground, at the intersection of lake Erie and the river Lynn, to commemorate the taking possession of the lands of the lake Erie region in the name of King Louis XIV of France, by the Sulpician priests Dollier and Galinee, on March 23, 1670. A commemorative tablet and two bronze plates surmounted by the Arms of France, and on which are inscribed the original procès-verbal placed there by these French priests, were in 1923 attached to the pedestal of the cross and the site suitably fenced. Unveiling ceremonies carried out and part-time caretaker appointed.

Port Dover, "Wintering Site."

Situated at the junction of Black creek and the river Lynn, about three-quarters of a mile from the "Cliff Site." A cairn and tablet were erected on a plot of ground donated by Mr. A. Ansley to commemorate the wintering place of Dollier and Galinee and seven other

Frenchmen in 1669-70. A small landing dock was also constructed and the site fenced. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Battle of Chippewa, near Chippewa.

A tablet was erected on a monument provided by the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park Commission adjacent to their boulevard to commemorate the Battle of Chippewa or Street's creek, July 5, 1814, between Canadian and American troops. This was one of the bloodiest and most stubborn engagements fought during the war of 1812-14. The unveiling and dedication proceedings were carried out on October 15, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

Battle of Frenchman's Creek, near Bridgeburg.

A tablet was erected on a monument constructed by the Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park Commission to commemorate the action of Frenchman's Creek, November 28, 1812, between Canadian troops and the American invaders. This was also the landing place of the Fenians on May 31, 1866. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on October 13, 1923, the necessary arrangements having been made by the Colonel Kirby Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire of Bridgeburg and Fort Erie.

Battle of Cook's Mills, near Welland.

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land adjacent to Lyon's Creek road donated by Mr. Roy Matthews, and the site suitably fenced, to commemorate the Battle of Cook's Mills, October 19, 1814. This was the last action of any importance fought in Upper Canada during the war of 1812-14. The dedication and unveiling proceedings were carried out on July 25, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society.

Battle of Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake.

A cairn and tablet enclosed with a specially designed iron picket fence were erected on a plot of land transferred from the Department of National Defence, to commemorate the Battle of Fort George, May 27, 1813. This was one of the most critical episodes of the invasion of 1812-14, and eventually resulted in the capture of the fort by the enemy who held it for seven months, during which time some strenuous fighting took place. The unveiling proceedings were carried out on August 16, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Niagara Historical Society.

86025—7½

Battlefield of Beechwoods or Beaver Dams, near Thorold.

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of ground immediately adjacent to the Mountain road near Thorold, donated by Mr. R. L. Peek, and the site was suitably fenced, to commemorate the final phase of the battle of Beechwoods or Beaver Dams, June 24, 1813, between the American invaders and Canadian troops, resulting in the dispersion of the former with heavy losses. This event is probably best known to most Canadians from the romantic story of Laura Secord's long night journey to warn the British outposts of their danger. The memorial was unveiled on August 1, 1923, with a programme arranged by the citizens and Council of the town of Thorold assisted by the local Chapter of the Daughters of the Empire.

Site of Battle of Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

Sault Ste. Marie, "Lock Site."

A cairn and tablet were erected to commemorate the first Sault Ste. Marie canal, surveyed by the Northwest Company in 1797 with the object of providing a canal for canoes and bateaux. This was in use with wooden lock on or before 1802, and was the first experiment in canal construction in the West. It was destroyed by United States troops in July, 1814. A portion thereof was uncovered in 1889, and later it was rebuilt of stone. The memorial was unveiled on August 7, 1923, in accordance with arrangements made by the Sault Ste.

Marie Historical Society in connection with the Discovery Week and Soldiers' Reunion celebration.

Western Canada

Fort Livingstone, near Pelly, Saskatchewan.

An area of 960 acres has been reserved with a view to creating a national historic park at a subsequent date. A cairn and tablet were erected on the original site of the fort. This was the first capital of the Northwest Territories in 1876-77, and here, on March 8, 1877, the first session of the Northwest Council was held.

ACQUISITION OF SITES

Action was also taken in regard to the acquisition of other historic properties, as well as of various monuments and other structures of national interest, as follows:—

Maritime Provinces

Louisbourg, N.S.

A monument erected by the American Society of Colonial Wars to the British soldiers who fell in action was transferred to the custody of the department. A bill was passed by the Nova Scotia Legislature vesting an area of two and one-half acres of the site, held by the Louisbourg Memorial Association, in the Crown. A number of relics found during excavation proceedings at the old lighthouse site were placed in safe-keeping. The erection of four tablets on the site is proposed.

Battle of Grand Pré, near Grand Pré, N.S.

Agreement of sale covering a 25-foot square plot obtained and instructions for survey issued. Cairn and tablet proposed to commemorate the Battle of February 10, 1748, in which Colonel Arthur Noble and two other British officers were killed.

Fort La Tour, St. John, N.B.

Erected in 1631 by Charles de la Tour, Governor in Acadia. Attacked by his rival d'Aulnay de Charnisay, April 13, 1645, when the garrison was commanded by Madame de la Tour, and which resulted in its capture after a heroic defence. Tablet and boulder to be erected.

Martello Tower and Blockhouse, St. John, N.B.

An area, on which is situated one of the few remaining original martello towers, was transferred from the Department of National

Defence, and action taken to have the necessary repairs made thereon.

Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Permission was obtained to place a tablet on a pillar at the entrance to the Provincial building at Charlottetown to commemorate the several important events associated with the early history of Prince Edward Island.

QUEBEC

Fort Chambly, at Chambly.

Additional preservation and restoration work was carried out during the past year on the walls of the old fort, the cemetery plot fenced and improvements made on the grounds. A comprehensive plan of general improvements was prepared with a view to beautifying the whole site. The fort was visited during the past year by over eight thousand people.

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix.

General repairs were carried out on the exterior and interior of the several massive stone buildings located on the site, including the laying of floors, repairs to masonry, painting of walls and roofs, etc. The original sun-dial erected at the fort was secured and placed in position. A museum was established in the main building and several relics of rare interest obtained and displayed. The island and fort were visited last year by over five thousand people.

Fort Crevier, at Notre Dame de Pierreville.

A plot of land 25 feet square was donated by Mr. Ubald Descheneaux to the department on which a cairn and tablet will be erected to commemorate the battles of 1689-93, when a number of soldiers and settlers were killed. The fort was erected in 1687 and was still standing in 1714.

Battle of Lacolle, at Lacolle.

Site of engagement of March 30, 1813, between the American invaders and Canadian troops. A plot of land 25 feet square has been donated to the department and instructions for survey issued. Cairn and tablet to be erected.

Madeleine de Vercheres, at Vercheres.

A monument and statute erected by the Dominion Government to Madeleine de Vercheres, a girl fourteen years of age, who, through her heroic courage, defended the fort which was situated there from

the attacks of the Iroquois in 1692, and thereby saved the settlement, was transferred for maintenance from the Department of Public Works. Part-time caretaker appointed. Tablet to be erected.

Madeleine de Verchères Monument, Verchères, P.Q.

Fort St. Jean, at St. Johns.

Constructed in 1748 and was for a considerable period the rendezvous for all military expeditions on the shore of lake Champlain. Demolished in 1760 by the French to prevent its capture by the English. Rebuilt in 1775 and during that year withstood a

forty-five days' siege by American troops. A triangular plot of land facing Champlain street was transferred from the Department of National Defence on which it is proposed to erect a boulder and tablet.

Three Rivers Fort and Platon, at Three Rivers.

Erected in 1634 and was the scene of several attacks by the Iroquois from 1641 to 1660. The Department of Public Works have granted permission to erect a boulder and tablet on the plot of ground at the rear of the Customs building.

Fort Coteau du Lac, at Coteau du Lac.

A plot of land immediately adjacent to the public highway, containing 9½ acres, was transferred from the Department of Railways and Canals. This fort was an important post in the wars of the American Revolution and in 1812. A canal with three locks was constructed on the site in 1779-80, and enlarged in 1804. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet and to utilize the ground for park and recreational purposes.

Battlefield of Odelltown, near Odelltown.

Site of battles of the 7th and 9th November, 1838. Cairn and tablet proposed for erection on a plot of land adjacent to the King Edward highway leased by the Odelltown Methodist Church trustees.

Logan Memorial Park, at Percé.

A plot of land, on which a memorial stands to the memory of Sir William Logan, founder and first director of the Geological Survey, was transferred from the Department of Mines for maintenance. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Ontario

Glengarry Cairn, Monument Island, near South Lancaster.

Erected by the Highland Militia of Glengarry to commemorate the services of Sir John Coborne, who commanded Her Majesty's forces in Canada at the time of the Rebellion of 1837-38. The island was purchased in 1922. The cairn has since been re-pointed, a flagstaff erected, landing dock built and other improvements carried out. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Wellington, Prescott.

An area of 8½ acres, on which are situated a blockhouse, the caretaker's residence and two other buildings, was transferred from the Department of National Defence. The blockhouse was erected

in 1812-13 as the main post for defence between Kingston and Montreal. The force which captured Ogdensburg on the 22nd February, 1813, was assembled there. Repairs were carried out on the blockhouse, caretaker's residence and listening post, and a flagpole erected.

Point-au-Baril, Maitland.

A lease of occupation was executed by Dr. R. E. Webster, granting the department permission to erect a tablet on the walls of an old tower situated on the site.

Fort de Levis and Batteries at Adams Point, near Cardinal.

A small plot of land adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto highway opposite Adams Point, was donated to the department by Mr. James Adams, on which it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate Fort de Levis, erected by the French in 1760, and which was surrendered to the British in August of that year.

Fort Cataracqui or Frontenac, Kingston.

Permission was obtained from the Department of National Defence to place a tablet on the southern wall of the gate at Tete-du-Pont Barracks, which now occupy the site of the old fort, erected in 1672 by Count de Frontenac, and which was abandoned in 1689, rebuilt in 1696, surrendered to the British in 1758 and then destroyed.

Martello Shoal Tower, Kingston.

Situated in Kingston harbour and one of the few remaining examples of that type of fortification. It was erected in 1845 to complete the defence of the port of Kingston as the chief naval station on lake Ontario and the western entrance to the Rideau canal, and was recently transferred from the Department of National Defence for maintenance.

Port Arthur.

The town of Port Arthur has executed a lease of occupation covering a site in Gore park, on which it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the several historic events associated with the early history of that place.

Port Dover.

The municipality of the village of Port Dover has granted permission for the erection of a cairn and tablet in Powell park to commemorate the starting point of Brock's expedition in 1812, to relieve the invaded western frontier.

Point de Meuron, near Fort William.

A plot of land at the foot of the rapids on the Kaministikwia river was obtained by deed of gift, and it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to commemorate the camping ground of the de Meuron regiment and the chief portaging point of the early fur traders.

Western Canada

Battle of Seven Oaks, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The site and monument situated thereon, which was erected to commemorate the encounter at Seven Oaks in 1816 between the men of the Northwest Fur Company and the Selkirk settlers, was obtained from the Lord Selkirk Association of Rupert's Land.

Nootka Sound, Friendly Cove, B.C.

A small plot of land located on the Yuquot Indian Reserve was surrendered by the Indians, on which a cairn and tablet will be erected to commemorate the discovery of Nootka Sound in 1778 by Captain James Cook. This was also the meeting place of Vancouver and Quadra in August, 1792, to determine the land which was to be restored to Britain.

Prince George, B.C.

The city have consented to execute a lease covering a small parcel of land on which to erect a memorial to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who passed that point in 1741, and who was the first white man to cross the Rocky mountains and reach the Pacific coast.

Yale, B.C.

A small plot of land has been donated by Mrs. A. Revsbeck on which to erect a boulder and tablet to commemorate the site of Fort Yale built in 1862-5. This was the starting point of the Cariboo wagon road which extended four hundred miles northward to the gold fields of Cariboo.

Prospect Point, Vancouver, B.C.

Here on July 26, 1888, the steamer *Beaver* was wrecked. This historic vessel was built for the Hudson's Bay Company at Blackwell, England, in 1835, and was the pioneer steamship of the Pacific ocean. It is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet in Stanley park.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE

The following other sites have been recommended for action by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and will be suitably marked in due course:—

Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.
First Printing Press in Canada, Halifax, N.S.
First Royal Dockyard, Halifax, N.S.
Fort La Have, N.S.
Fort Meductic, near Woodstock, N.B.
Fort Nashwaak, Fredericton, N.B.
Battle of the Restigouche, Campbellton, N.B.
Bathurst, N.B. (Nicholas Denys).
Hochelaga, Montreal, P.Q.
Fort Sorel, P.Q.
Gaspé, P.Q. (Landing Place of Jacques Cartier).
Tadoussac, P.Q.
Battle of Rivière des Prairies, Coulee Groulx, P.Q.
Fort Maisonneuve, Point Callières, P.Q.
Fort Charlesbourg Royal, Cap Rouge, P.Q.
Fort Longueuil, Longueuil, P.Q.
Arbre-à-la-Croix, near Cap Madeleine, P.Q.
Fort Ste. Thérèse, near St. John, P.Q.
Valcartier, P.Q.
Battle of Chateauguay, near Allan's Corners, P.Q.
Lachine Massacre, Lachine, P.Q.
Ernestown Shipyard, near Bath, Ont.
St. Raphael, Ontario (Bishop Alexander Macdonnell).
Ottawa, Ontario (Rideau canal).
Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas, Ont.
Mission of Ste. Marie I, near Midland, Ont.
Vrooman's Battery, near Queenston, Ont.
Welland Ship Canal, Allanburg, Ont.
Weishuhn's Redoubt, near Willoughby, Ont.
Navy Island Shipyard, near Niagara, Ont.
Fort William, Ont.
Fort Nottawasaga, near Stayner, Ont.
Battle of the Longwoods, near Wardsville, Ont.
Port Stanley, Ont.
Point Pelee, Ont.
Sandwich, Ont.
Glengarry Landing, near Edenvale, Ont.
House of Thomas McRae, near Chatham, Ont.
Nanticoke, Ont.

Battle of York, Toronto, Ont.
Port Talbot, Ont.
Selkirk Settlement, Point Douglas, near Winnipeg, Man.
Forts Rouge, Gibraltar and Garry, Winnipeg, Man.
Battle of Fish Creek, Sask.
Duck Lake Battlefield, Sask.
Battleford, Sask.
Batoche, Sask.
Cut Knife Battlefield, Sask.
Frog Lake Massacre, Alberta.
Fort Macleod, Alberta.
Old Fort Augustus, near Edmonton, Alberta.
Jasper House, Alberta.
Fort Walsh, Alberta.
Fort Langley, B.C.
Fort Victoria, B.C. (Gonzales Point).
Fort Kamloops, B.C.
New Westminster, B.C.
Bella Coola, B.C. (Sir Alexander Mackenzie's farthest point west).

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